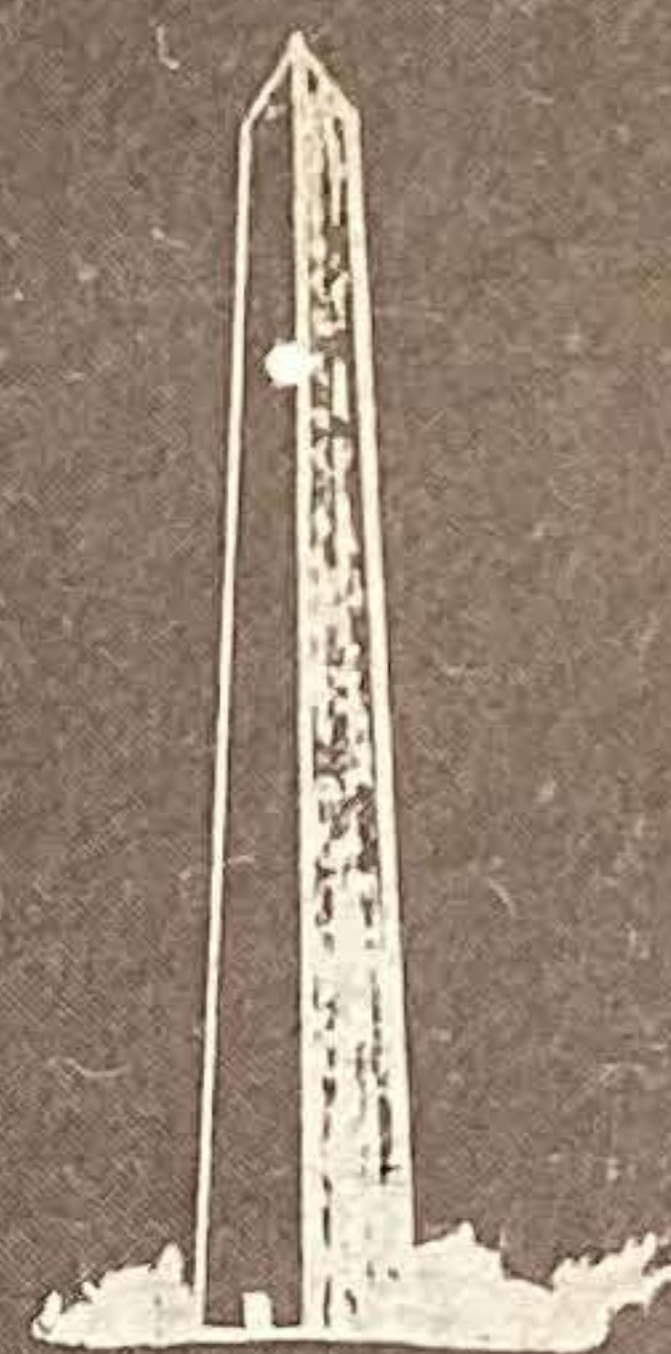
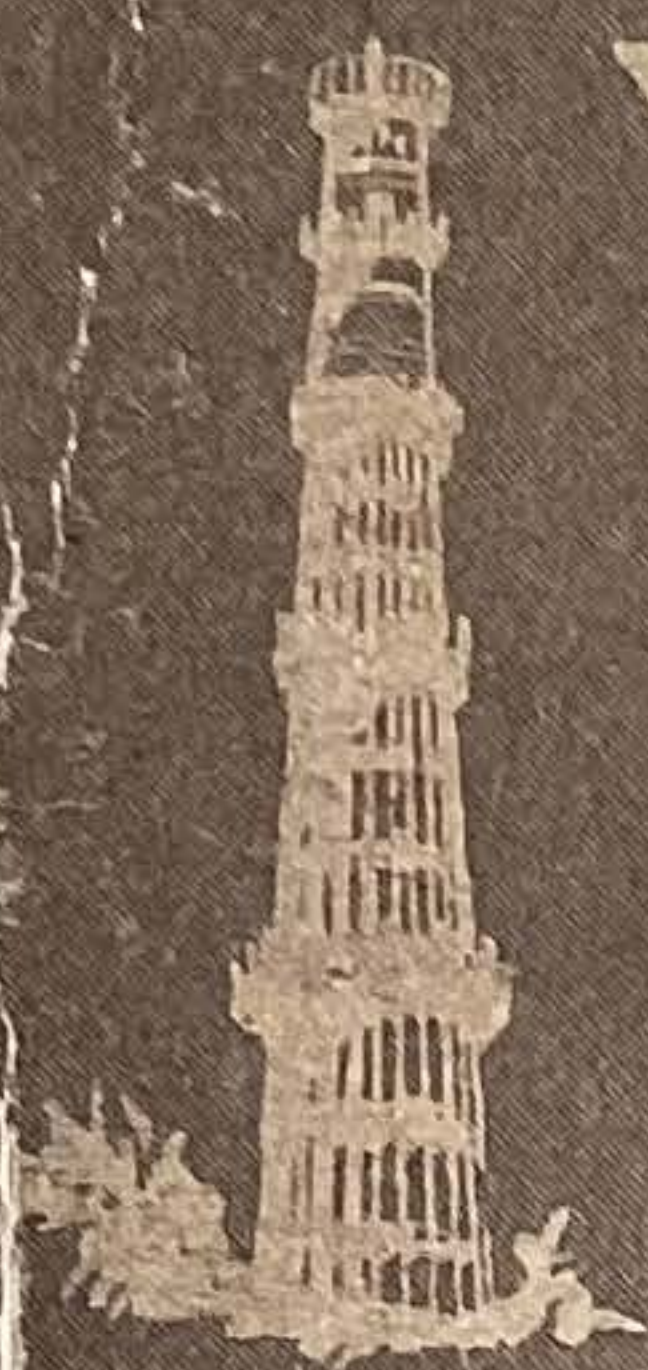


# NEHRU VISITS U.S.A.



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WITH THE COOPERATION OF  
INFORMATION SERVICE OF INDIA  
INDIAN COMMISSION  
SINGAPORE.



18-9-1957

No. 5



# Prime Minister Nehru's VISIT to USA

## RECEPTION AT THE WASHINGTON AIRPORT

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, and Mr. M. O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, arrived at the MATS Terminal, National Airport, Washington, D. C., at 12:15 p.m. on December 16, 1956, for talks with Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States. The party left for India on December 21.

A ceremonial reception was accorded to the Prime Minister at the National Airport, Washington, at which the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, Vice-President of the United States, welcomed the Prime Minister on behalf of President Eisenhower and the American people.

### Significant Visit

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF

INFORMATION SERVICE OF INDIA

(INDIAN COMMISSION)

SINGAPORE.

*Text of expressions of welcome by Vice-President Nixon and responses thereto by Prime Minister Nehru:*

*Vice-President Nixon:* Mr. Prime Minister, it is a very great honor for me to extend on behalf of President Eisenhower and the American people a very warm welcome to you and to the members of your party on the occasion of your visit to the United States.

This visit has a great deal of significance for a number of reasons. This is a decisive moment in history. You represent the largest democracy in the world, and the United States is the second largest democracy in the world; and, while as free and independent sovereign nations our governments do not always agree on policy, we have and share a common dedication and devotion toward developing the kind of world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent, and in which peoples can live together in peace. And we know that the conversations that you have with President Eisenhower, with other members of our Government, will not only contribute to better understanding between our two Governments and our two peoples, but that it will contribute to



the cause of world peace, based on freedom and justice, to which we are all devoted.

We only regret that your visit here is brief, that you cannot see more parts of our country, but I can assure you that all of our 167 million American citizens share this expression when I say we are glad to have you with us, and while you are here, this certainly will be your home.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. Vice-President, I am deeply grateful to you for your welcome and for what you have said. It is a great happiness to me to come here for the second time to this great country and I consider it a great privilege that I should have the opportunity to meet the President and talk to him at this rather important and even, perhaps, critical moment in our history.

You mentioned, Mr. Vice-President, the ideals that govern this great Republic, the ideals of independence and individual freedom. I can assure you that we, in India, adhere to those ideals and that we are going to adhere to them, whatever else may befall us.

We believe in the freedom of the individual, the freedom of the human spirit. And in many other things, too, I have found that there is so much in common, even though we are separated by half the world, between this great Republic and the Republic of India.

And so I thank you again, Mr. Vice-President, and I should like to express my gratitude to the President for his gracious invitation to me to come here.

# Privilege and Honor

## WELCOME AT THE WHITE HOUSE

*Exchange of greetings between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru on arrival at the White House, December 16, 1956:*

*President Eisenhower:* Mr. Prime Minister, this is an event to which I have long looked forward. It is a privilege and an honor to welcome you to this land—and to this house.



I speak for the American people and the government when I say that we hope you will find your trip here most enjoyable—that you and your daughter will have a visit that is full of interest.

We thank you for coming.

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*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. President, I am deeply grateful to you for the gracious invitation which has brought me here, and for your kind words. I have been looking forward to this visit for a long time, and now that I am here I feel happy to be not only your guest, Mr. President, but among the American people who are so very friendly and hospitable.

I look forward to these few days here. I am only sorry that my visit is a short one.

Thank you, sir.

# Friendship to Treasure

## VICE-PRESIDENT'S LUNCHEON

*Text of speeches made at the luncheon given in honor of Prime Minister Nehru by the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, Vice-President of the United States, at 1925 F Street Club, Washington, D. C. at 1:00 p.m. on December 18, 1956:*

*Vice-President Nixon:* Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, and our guests here today, at this point in a Washington luncheon or dinner, the host is supposed to rise, raise his glass and propose a very formal toast to the Guest of Honor; and I, of course, have done that on occasions during the years that I have been in this present office.

However, I think that this luncheon today is a special occasion, so we will dispense with that.

I would like to say, however, just a word before I give the Prime Minister the opportunity to respond, only as he feels, and with no formal remarks required and, may I point out, with no microphones in the room or anything of that sort, I would just like to say a word with regard to this luncheon and with regard to our very distinguished guest today.

First, may I just mention some people who are, of course, interested in the problems of India and those of the United States, and often receive very little notice as they serve their respective countries, and I refer to



those who are in our diplomatic corps. We are very happy today to have among our guests the Ambassador and Mrs. Mehta, of India, the immediate former Ambassador Cooper to India, from the United States, and Mr. and Mrs. Bunker, who are going to India in the very near future.

I have often been asked about the difficulties of running for office and of campaigning and serving in the present office that I hold, or serving as a Congressman or a Senator; and my reaction, after having traveled about the world, is always that our Ambassadors and the Ambassadors from other countries have positions and responsibilities that are much more difficult than those of us in elective office can ever have.

I sometimes think that we do not realize the great difficulties that they may face in the cause of creating friendship and goodwill among people. I think of our own Ambassadors receiving the Senatorial and Congressional delegations as they go around the world, in addition to their other duties.

I think of the many receptions I have attended here in Washington, given by Ambassador Mehta and others of the diplomatic corps, and when I think of what they have done, I do not want this opportunity to pass without paying our respects to our Ambassadors to India, and from India to the United States, for the fine work they have done in the four years that they have been here; also, John Cooper and his wife who are returning to us in the Senate, and Mr. Bunker and Mrs. Bunker who are going to India.

I would like to add another word as to the reasons I have dispensed with the usual toast, with the speech being taken down by a stenographer, because I know that the Prime Minister tonight is going on television and radio at eleven o'clock, and tomorrow at eleven-fifteen he is having a press conference.

He has had, of course, a very strenuous schedule all the way through, and I know, from having traveled in many countries, how busy he is, with his responsibilities.

Just to show you, I will illustrate what problems our distinguished visitors who are traveling around the country have, and if I may, I will give an illustration of one of our guests at the table here today.

I was asking Mrs. Gandhi what she was going to do in New York. In New York, you know, we have many fine musical comedies and shows, and she said, "I would like to see *My Fair Lady*, but there is, of course, lunch, and dinner, then lunch and dinner," and then I asked, "What are you going to do in the afternoon?" And she replied, "Visit a welfare settlement."



Of course this is fine. She comes to the United States, and her memories will be of luncheons, dinners, welfare centers, diplomatic receptions and things of that sort, but we never get to know the people after having attended only those affairs, and that is what she will miss in this country and she will also miss the experiences and enjoyments that perhaps those of us who would be tourists might have.

As a matter of fact we have been trying to work it out and I can tell you that I overheard a conversation: Senator Green invited Mrs. Gandhi to slip out from the Mayor's dinner early, he is going to take her to *My Fair Lady*.

To show you that everything is on the level, Helen Susa is going to chaperone the couple. In any event, I have taken up too long and may I just say this: From the tenor of these remarks you may be sure that we do appreciate the circumstances under which our official guests have to travel; we know the burden which they carry. We do know that the Prime Minister must return now to his responsibilities, his press conference and his television and radio this evening, and I would only add this: I only wish everybody in this room could have the opportunity that I have had, and that Mrs. Nixon has had, and some of you have had, John Cooper, of course, and his wife, of visiting India.

I cannot say that we know it, but we did have the chance to meet the Government leaders and we did get away from the protocol long enough to go into the villages to see the wonderful work that is being done among the Indian villagers in more or less raising themselves by their own bootstraps in perhaps one of the most symbolic and important progressive acts that I think we have seen any place in the world today.

I can only say that every place we went, there we found the people warmhearted, we found them understanding and friendly toward the people of the United States, and we certainly came back with the conviction that these two democracies, two of the greatest democracies in the world, had so much in common in our ideals, in our aspirations as we look to the future and I hope that before the years pass, that all of you will have the opportunity to visit India as we have, and I can only say that the visit of the Prime Minister here, even though he does not see as much of this country as we would like him to see, is one of the memorable occasions that it has been our privilege to experience during this past four years.

With that, there will be no formal toast. I will give the floor to the Prime Minister, with the thought that if he would like to say something, he may; and also with the suggestion that somebody had mentioned over here a moment ago, that he is having a press conference tomorrow—



it was Congressman Ahrens, he suggested that—and if you have ever seen anybody respond to questions in a question period in the Parliament of India, you can understand that going before an American press conference will be duck soup to him.

Mr. Prime Minister.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. Vice-President, ladies and gentlemen, just before this very pleasant and agreeable meeting I was talking to the Vice-President and telling him that I began what might be called my public speaking late in life, and under rather unusual circumstances.

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I was very shy of speaking at college and at the university; in fact, in my university, at Cambridge, I joined the Debating Society, and there if a person did not speak, he paid a fine. I gladly paid the fine, and years passed after that and then I had got rather entangled with the peasantry of my province, who were living very unhappy lives, and I got to meet them and I had to say something to them, and I was not shy of them, as they were very simple. I started to talk to 200, and then to 500, and a thousand, in a casual way and thus got over a little of my reluctance to speak, but I have never quite got used to speaking at such functions.

I don't mind very large audiences of peasants and those in my country who cannot help but put up with what I say, and who will not criticize what I say; it's easy; but here, it's very difficult.

The Vice-President repeatedly warned us or told us that this was not a formal affair and there was no toast, and that if I wanted to do so I might do so, and if I didn't, I needn't, so—I don't quite know what the difference is.

Anyhow, I am very grateful to you, Mr. Vice-President, and to you, Madam, for this opportunity to meet so many eminent people here in Washington. I really am sorry that I should come all the way from India to Washington and to New York, just for a few days. It seems rather absurd to take all that trouble, although it is worthwhile, no doubt; but, unfortunately, as the Vice-President realized, in spite of what he said, comparing his own duties to those of Ambassadors, that elections and the like are important things in politicians' lives, and very soon we are going to have a big election in India, the general elections. It will absorb a lot of time and energy and also a little bit of anxiety, occasionally.

So, I'm sorry I have come here for a very short time. Nevertheless, I am glad I could come and have the opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with Washington, this very beautiful city, and most especially the President and the eminent leaders who live here.



It is not adequate to say, but it gives one such a new lease on life, if I may say so, in thinking and having certain pictures in one's mind upon which you can hang so many thoughts.

The Vice-President referred to Ambassadors. I entirely agree with him that the work of Ambassadors is both difficult and very heavy nowadays, perhaps not in every country, for sometimes I find Ambassadors have a very easy time, but that only applies, maybe, to some. Others have to work very hard indeed, and with all kinds of new things happening in the world, some pleasant, very often unpleasant things, but Ambassadors' work grows, and an Ambassador not only must work hard but at the same time not with complete assurance, because there is perhaps some sort of a ministry or department at the back of him that may pull him up at any time, so he both tries to go ahead and he is also afraid of being pulled back, so it is not an easy task at all.

The Vice-President referred to his visit to India. I am glad he referred to that because that gave him some little picture of our people, more especially, not of the people he might have met in New Delhi, but I think he did visit some villages round about New Delhi that are more typical of India than New Delhi, and I think the villagers he met gave him an Indian welcome, and that, probably, was more representative of India than any banquet or function he might have participated in.

Our people are friendly, and one thing that has surprised me, and many American visitors who have come to India have spoken to me about it, it surprised them more than it surprises me, because, after all, I am used to my own people, and that is: in spite of poverty, distress, and all kinds of things, our people have not forgotten their dancing and laughing, which is a great virtue. They have not been oppressed, but they are depressed occasionally, but still they do not take life in such a heavy way because of the obvious disability they suffer from.

Well, I suppose that insofar as economic standards are concerned, they will make progress. We are working to that end, but I am very, very anxious that in making progress they do not forget how to sing and dance and laugh. That is more basic and important even than perhaps economic progress. Of course, there is no conflict between the two, certainly.

Anyhow, so far as we are concerned in India, we are engaged in a pretty big task. I can tell you that it is heavy, naturally, and one feels sometimes rather disappointed, but it is a big exciting job, and I feel exhilarated, not all the time, but very often, because of being tied up with this great work.

Previous to this business, we spent long years, many of us in India, in our struggle for independence. That had a powerful effect on us, conditioning us, molding us, to some extent, in a particular pattern.

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Then, too, it was an exciting thing. I must say my life has been full of excitement. Some people sometimes express their sympathy over my ten years in prison. Yes, I spent about ten years, off and on, in prison, but I can tell you, I cannot say that I enjoyed them, because that would not be true, but nevertheless it was all a very exciting time, and that is perhaps more worthwhile than some kind of just empty enjoyment of other things, because when one is mentally and otherwise tied up with something that one considers big, a great undertaking, well, it has an effect on him. I think one grows more by being engaged in big undertakings than otherwise. Some of the shadow of the great things falls on the persons working for those things.

That is a very satisfying feeling, in spite of a thousand difficulties and occasional heartbreaks. Some day, we are engaged in this tremendous task in India, we have an achievement of independence behind us, we have the enormous satisfaction and joy of seeing something that we had worked for years and years to come true, dreams coming true. It doesn't often happen that dreams come true, but the moment it came true, immediately we realized that—well, it was only a stage of the journey and we had to pack up our knapsacks and start afresh.

Well, we did it, and it is a longer and more difficult journey, but even so, great dreams do come true, and maybe as time goes on the big dream will also come true, and the thought of that is exhilarating.

I must not go on in this way. I do not know if it is a proper way for me, but I do wish to say that I am tremendously grateful to the President, of course, but to others here, for your very genuine hospitality and friendly way in which they have accepted us as friends. That is an honor and a privilege, and a friendship which I shall treasure.

I am grateful, very grateful, to you, Mr. Vice-President, and to you, Madam, for your kindness.

## Change and Continuity

### SECRETARY OF STATE'S BANQUET

*Text of speeches made at the banquet given in honor of Prime Minister Nehru by Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, at the Pan American Union Building, Washington, D. C. at 8:00 p.m. on December 18, 1956:*

*Secretary Dulles:* Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, I am very happy indeed that it has become my opportunity to say in a representative capacity what I know each of our guests here has said to you individually,



and what every one of the American people, if he had the chance, would say to you individually—that we welcome you here, we are very grateful to you for having come, and we have for you the very highest regard.

Now, I have sometimes wondered, myself, as to why it is that a man with whom, it must be admitted, some people disagree, nevertheless has the respect of all.

And I think perhaps I found a bit of a clue myself in a book which I have in my library, which is entitled *The Story of the World*. Possibly you recall that. That is a compilation of letters which Mr. Nehru wrote to his daughter, who sits at my left, some years ago—I will not say how many years ago, because that might not, perhaps, be polite, but some years ago—telling her a little bit about what had happened in this world of ours and how it broke off originally as a bit of the sun, and finally cooled off and went through millions and millions of years, until finally human life came, how it slowly evolved; and one gets through those letters a perspective, a bit, of the world in which we live and of the inevitability of change, evolution, development.

And today that is one of the things for which our guest stands in the world.

At the moment, perhaps the most significant development is the evolution of the world from a world where a few people, a few nations rule the whole world to a world where many nations have their independence and where, within those nations, many people share the rule.

And that is perhaps one of the greatest evolutions of our time, with which our guest is particularly identified.

And then from that series of letters is apparent another theme; a theme perhaps which has become even more significant in our time, and that is the theme that this evolution, so inevitable, so imperative, must be worked out through peaceful processes of evolution rather than through the violent processes of revolution.

And I recall, Mr. Prime Minister, your words in those letters about the folly of the First World War. Certainly that theme has become even more impressive as we now reach a point in history when all of this period of evolution and development through the millions and millions of years now for the first time could be brought to an abrupt halt by the new powers which have been found through the capacity to split the atom.

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And because, Mr. Prime Minister, you stand for two very simple, yet fundamental things, the inevitability of change and the importance that that change should be a peaceful change, with nonviolence as the theme, and because those two thoughts are so fundamental in all of our thinking, even though we do not realize it or spell it out, there is, I think, an instinctive recognition on the part of all, even though they disagree in some respects with the applications of your views, a recognition of the fact that you stand for something which is basic and indeed indispensable for our world as it is today.

It is perhaps for such reasons, Mr. Prime Minister, that you belong to the world. But we know, also, that you belong to India, a great country struggling under the most difficult conditions to lift up its people from the impoverishment of generations and to demonstrate that that can be done by democratic processes and done better by democratic processes than the processes of coercion and indignity which prevail in so many of the neighboring areas.

And I think that we all have a deep sympathy with what you are doing, not just as a citizen of the world, but as the leader of a great country, the world's largest democracy.

For all of those reasons and many more than I can speak of tonight, we are honored to have you here as a representative of your great country.

And I ask, ladies and gentlemen, that you rise, we all rise together and drink a toast to the President of India.

The President of India.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. Secretary, Mrs. Dulles, ladies and gentlemen: I have been in Washington now, this time, for barely three days, and yet, I have a sensation that I have been here a long time.

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It has often seemed to me that this reckoning of time by the clock is a very feeble way of measuring its passage. On other occasions, when time seemed to me to stand still, when I was incapacitated from any particular activity by being kept in detention in prison, time had a different quality. There is nothing to measure it by, nothing in the sense of sensation or change—everything was the same day after day, every sight was the same.

On other occasions, time seemed to run fast because there were new sensations, new sights, so that the clock seemed to be a very poor way of measuring it.



Now, these less than three days I have been here, I have had so many, not novel experiences, but still experiences, sensations, feelings, that it gives me the idea that I have gone through a great deal.

And among the major experiences and sensations has been the extraordinary warmth of the welcome my daughter and I have had; and if I may use the word, the affection we have experienced wherever we have been to here.

I came here on the kind invitation of the President, and yesterday I had the unique opportunity of being with him the whole day and discussing all manner of topics and subjects; and realizing again what I knew—what a great man the President of the United States was and is, and how it is to the great advantage of the world that in this crisis in world affairs, the head of this great country should not only be, should not only represent the power and might of the United States, but a certain moral quality which in the ultimate analysis is something bigger.

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I do not know how to thank you, Mr. Secretary and others, and especially the President, for all the kindness and friendliness that we have experienced since we came here.

You mentioned just now about the fact that sometimes in regard to some matters there may not be complete agreement. It has always surprised me that in this world of ours there is so much agreement in spite of its extraordinary diversity and variety. Also, we hear such a great deal about conflicts in the world—and of course there are conflicts and very bad ones sometimes—and yet the fact remains that the world wouldn't carry on for a day but for an enormous amount of cooperation—it would just collapse. If there were more conflicts than cooperation in the world, then the world just would not work.

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But, unfortunately, the element of conflict, the elements of disagreement and friction, somehow stand out and are made to stand out even more by the modern methods of publicity. Somebody said that virtue may be very good, but it is not news. Vice is news. A disaster is news. Nobody writes about the peaceful conditions prevailing in a humdrum family. But if there is any trouble or any flood or any earthquake, it is news. But earthquakes nevertheless are few and other things happen which are not recorded.

So that if one looks at it that way, it is extraordinary and satisfying that in spite of the fact that probably no two human beings are alike, these 2,000 or 2,500 million human beings do pull on in this world more or less with a measure of cooperation, sometimes quite a great deal of it.



Perhaps, I have often wondered, when people disagree, how far that is due, among other causes, to geography. Of course, it may be due also to, in a sense, history, or tradition, that is, the past conditioning of people which has made them what they are, they can't get out of the shells wholly, to some extent they might.

But let us take geography only. I imagine myself sitting at the North Pole and I look around and I see a particular picture of the world before me.

If I go to the Equator, I see something different, apart from climate. The map of the world is different.

If I sit in Washington, well, the world is the same but the perspective is different.

In Delhi, it is somewhat different again.

And so, it seems to follow that because all these determining factors which give us this perspective or that, we form somewhat different ideas of things. I don't mean to say basically different, but the emphasis is different. A country—Mr. Secretary Dulles is in charge of the foreign policy of the United States, I am in charge of the foreign policy of India. We are concerned in our ways—his is a much bigger way, mine is a smaller way—with the problems of other countries. But inevitably my problems with my neighbor countries loom large before me, not because they are bigger or greater countries, but because they are at my threshold. Even though it might be a small country, well, I have to think more about it because it is there, whereas Mr. Secretary Dulles need not necessarily think so much, because in itself that country may not be important, but because it is my neighbor I have to think more of it.

So that these perspectives differ, because of geography and this and that; and they lead, they appear to lead, to certain differences of opinion, or perhaps, more so, not so much to differences but to the emphasis one lays on a particular factor, one may lay more of it because from his viewpoint it is more important where he stands what problems he deals with than another person who may give some emphasis to something else.

I merely put this because I feel that we tend, all over the world, rather to give undue emphasis to certain factors which are important, no doubt, but perhaps do not deserve that amount of emphasis.



Then, Mr. Secretary, you talked about change and the inevitability of change. Well, I suppose there are two factors which are inevitable, in history; one is change and the other is continuity—both are essential.

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Without continuity, well, you break up, and it takes some time to join the broken threads. If we had only continuity, it is stagnation, you don't grow, so you must have change.

If we have all change and no continuity, well, you don't seem to profit by the accumulation—our wisdom of the past is a break, and again you have to build anew.

So I suppose the ideal state would be where there is continuity and change, both.

Even the biggest revolutions, really, cannot break that ultimate continuity, and if they seem to break it, they go back to the continuity after a while, because otherwise they would be rootless, the people of a country.

In my country's philosophy, in Indian philosophy, life is often compared to, shall I say, a running river or a flame in the sense that the river is constantly changing, the water is flowing away, and yet, it is the same; the flame is the same, and yet, it is a continuously changing thing, thus bringing about a certain idea of seeming continuity and yet change.

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Well, sometimes the process of change seems sudden and we call it a revolution or an earthquake. And yet, probably the bigger changes are not the earthquakes but, speaking in geological terms, these are the infinite changes that are taking place on the earth's crust, or inside, which only sometimes give place to an earthquake.

And so, I suppose, in human society something, some kind of a violent revolution takes place, attracts attention, seems very big, and yet probably the biggest revolutions ever since the world began, if I may say so, have been the changes which have followed the industrial revolution. Those are the real revolutions which have changed human life completely and go on changing it.

And now we stand on the threshold of the atomic age, which is likely to bring another tremendous revolution, and yet they come in step by step without, apparently, any big break.

The United States of America are, well, particularly a dynamic society, always trying to better themselves, to change and go forward.

India, I suppose, has a reputation of being somewhat static. And that reputation is partly correct, at least in the past. Yet, if you examine



India, it is not so static, after all, and if you examine the United States it is not hopping about, it is continuous. It is not that they don't break with anything, both the elements are there only, maybe sometimes the society appears to go rather fast ahead because of various circumstances.

Anyhow, this is not an occasion to philosophize, Mr. Secretary, but we do seem to be living during a period of history when, because of the inherent workings, not because of so-called human revolutions, but inherent workings of the social organism, of science and its developments, enormous changes come and the pace of change increases.

And sometimes, although these changes take place and we profit by them, we really don't fit into them. What I mean is, probably the intellectual and mental and, if you like, the moral make-up of the individual doesn't quite catch up with the technical changes that come in. Just as you may fly today from the coldest climate to a very hot climate in a very short time, and your physical body might not easily adapt itself to it.

So, the problem today is how far human beings are mentally, intellectually and morally adapting themselves to the tremendous changes that science and technology have brought about and are bringing about.

Maybe many of the political problems of the day can be explained by this difficulty in the process of adjustment and adaptation of society.

Well, anyhow, it will have to adapt itself, find some equilibrium or else—well, it will break.

The one dangerous, and at the same time hopeful, feature of today is that the possibility of this break is evident unless something is done or unless something is prevented. That has at least woken up people and it may be that they might devise means to find proper adjustments for human society and proper restraints, so that these tremendous forces might not be used for evil purposes.

Anyhow, these problems will go on afflicting men, and when we solve one problem, no doubt others will arise. We who live today are pressed by the problems of the day. Probably, I suppose in the past, if we can place ourselves in the position of those who lived then, they thought that their age was the most terrible and difficult of all and the most dangerous.

Sometimes, I read, for instance, old newspapers, say in Napoleon's time—they make very interesting reading—the terror which in some countries of Europe, say England and elsewhere, there was because of Napoleon. This devil incarnate was upsetting everything.



Well, the world survived, and it seems a relatively almost sedate time compared to other times which came later.

So I presume the world will go on and adjust itself. Nevertheless, I suppose we have to help the world to adjust itself and not leave things to chance.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Secretary Dulles said, well, some of us, most of us in India and I suppose most of us in other countries of the East, are very much engrossed in the work of getting their countries out of that period of stagnation, that morass in which they were stuck.

It is hard work and exciting work, and it is worthwhile work and I have no doubt that we shall make good.

I am very grateful to you, Mr. Secretary, and the other eminent ladies and gentlemen who are here, for their welcome and for their leadership.

May I ask you to drink to the health of the President of the United States?

# Common Faith In Democracy

## TV AND RADIO ADDRESS

*Text of Prime Minister Nehru's television and radio statement at 11:15 p.m. E.S.T. on December 18, 1956, from the Pan American Union Building, Washington, D. C.:*

Friends,

I am emboldened to address you in this intimate fashion because of the friendship and hospitality which you, the citizens of the United States, have showered upon me. I have come to your great country on a brief visit at the gracious invitation of your President, whose humanity and whose distinguished and devoted services to the cause of peace have won for him a unique place among the statesmen of the world. I am happy to be here and my only regret is that I can only stay a few days and have no opportunity of meeting many of you personally.

Five years ago, a professor of an American University visited me in Delhi and gave me a gift which I have treasured greatly. This was a

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mould in brass of Abraham Lincoln's right hand. It is a beautiful hand, strong and firm and yet gentle. It has been kept ever since on my study table, and I look at it every day, and it gives me strength.

This may, perhaps, give you some idea of our thinking and our urges in India. For, above all, we believe in liberty, equality, the dignity of the individual and the freedom of the human spirit. Because of this, we are firmly wedded to the democratic way of life and, in our loyalty to this cause, we will not falter. Nearly seven years ago, we constituted our country into a Republic and gave to ourselves a Constitution based on these principles, and guaranteeing the fundamental human rights of freedom of the individual, equality of man and the rule of law.

Five years ago, we had general elections in our country for our Central Parliament as well as for our State Assemblies. These elections were organized on a vast scale by an authority free of Government control, so as to ensure that they were free and impartial. Early next year, we are going to have another general elections in which two hundred million voters are entitled to participate. You will realize the vastness of these elections when I tell you that there will be one million two hundred thousand polling booths, so that no voter need have to go far to give his vote.

As you know, India is a big country, with a population of three hundred and seventy million, one-seventh of the total population of the world. It is a country steeped in history and tradition, with a civilization nearly as old as recorded time, and a culture nourished on its own soil and blended happily with those of other peoples and of other lands. This year, we celebrated in India and in many other countries, the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of a very great son of India, the Buddha, who gave us a message of peace and compassion.

Through the centuries, India has preached and practiced toleration and understanding, and has enriched human thought, art and literature, philosophy and religion. Her sons journeyed far and wide, braving the perils of land and sea, not with thoughts of conquest or domination, but as messengers of peace or engaged in the commerce of ideas as well as of her beautiful products. During these millennia of history, India has experienced both good and ill but, throughout her chequered history, she has remembered the message of peace and tolerance. In our own time, this message was proclaimed by our great leader and master, Mahatma Gandhi, who led us to freedom by peaceful and yet effective action on a mass scale.

Nine years ago, we won our independence through a bloodless revolution, in conditions of honor and dignity both to ourselves and to the erstwhile rulers of our country. We in India today are children of



this revolution and have been conditioned by it. Although your revolution in America took place long ago and the conditions were different here, you will appreciate the revolutionary spirit which we have inherited and which still governs our activities. Having attained political freedom, we are earnestly desirous of removing the many ills that our country suffers from, of eliminating poverty and raising the standards of our people, and giving them full and equal opportunities of growth and advancement. India is supposed to be given to contemplation, and the American people have shown by their history that they possess great energy, dynamism and the passion to march ahead. Something of that contemplative spirit still remains in India. But, at the same time, the new India of today has also developed a certain dynamism and a passionate desire to raise the standards of her people. But, with that desire is blended the wish to adhere to the moral and spiritual aspects of life.

We are now engaged in a gigantic and exciting task of achieving rapid and large-scale economic development of our country. Such development, in an ancient and under-developed country such as India, is only possible with purposive planning. True to our democratic principles and traditions, we seek in free discussion and consultation as well as in implementation the enthusiasm and the willing and active cooperation of our people. We completed our First Five-Year Plan eight months ago, and now we have begun on a more ambitious scale our Second Five-Year Plan, which seeks a planned development in agriculture and industry, town and country, and between factory and small-scale and cottage production. I speak of India because it is my country and I have some right to speak for her. But, many other countries in Asia tell the same story, for Asia today is resurgent, and these countries which long lay under foreign yoke, have won back their independence and are fired by a new spirit and strive towards new ideals. To them, as to us, independence is as vital as the breath they take to sustain life, and colonialism, in any form, or anywhere, is abhorrent.

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The vast strides that technology has made, have brought a new age of which the United States of America is the leader. Today, the whole world is our neighbor, and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less and less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible, and the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject. In this atomic age, peace has also become a test of human survival.

Recently, we have witnessed two tragedies which have powerfully affected men and women all over the world. These are the tragedies in Egypt and Hungary. Our deeply felt sympathies must go out to those who have suffered or are suffering, and all of us must do our utmost to help them and to assist in solving these problems in a peaceful and constructive way. But even these tragedies have one hopeful aspect, for



they have demonstrated that the most powerful countries cannot revert to old colonial methods or impose their domination over weak countries. World opinion has shown that it can organize itself to resist such outrages. Perhaps, as an outcome of these tragedies, freedom will be enlarged and will have a more assured basis.

The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of non-alignment in any military or like pact or alliance. Non-alignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive dynamic approach to such problems that confront us. We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom, but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius.

We believe, therefore, in non-aggression and non-interference by one country in the affairs of another, and the growth of tolerance between them and the capacity for peaceful co-existence. We think that by the free exchange of ideas and trade and other contacts between nations, each will learn from the other, and truth will prevail. We, therefore, endeavor to maintain friendly relations with all countries, even though we may disagree with them in their policies or structure of government. We think that by this approach, we can serve not only our country but also the larger causes of peace and good fellowship in the world.

Between the United States and India, there had existed friendly and cordial relations even before India gained her independence. No Indian can forget that in the days of our struggle for freedom, we received from your country a full measure of sympathy and support. Our two Republics share a common faith in democratic institutions and the democratic way of life and are dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom. We admire the many qualities that have made this country great, and, more especially, the humanity and dynamism of its people and the great principles to which the fathers of the American revolution gave utterance. We wish to learn from you and we plead for your friendship, and your cooperation and sympathy in the great task that we have undertaken in our own country.

I have had the great privilege of having long talks with the President, and we have discussed many problems which confront the world. I can tell you that I have greatly profited by these talks. I shall treasure their memory and they will help me in many ways in my thinking. I sincerely hope that an opportunity may be given to us before long to welcome the President in our own country and to demonstrate to him the high respect and esteem in which we hold him.



We have recently witnessed grievous transgressions of the moral standards freely accepted by the nations of the world. During this period of anxiety and distress, the United States has added greatly to its prestige by upholding worthily the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

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The danger of war is not past, and the future may hold fresh trials and tribulations for humanity. Yet, the forces of peace are strong, and the mind of humanity is awake. I believe that peace will triumph.

We are celebrating in this season the festival of peace and goodwill and soon the New Year will come to us. May I wish you all a happy New Year and express the hope that this year will see the triumph of peace and freedom all over the world. Good night!

# Peace and Freedom

## NEWSREEL STATEMENT

*Text of Prime Minister Nehru's newsreel and cine-camera statement at 11:35 p.m. E.S.T. on December 18, 1956, from the Pan American Union Building, Washington, D. C.:*

I have had the great privilege of having long talks with the President, and we have discussed many problems which confront the world. I can tell you that I have greatly profited by these talks. I shall treasure their memory and they will help me in many ways in my thinking.

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The vast strides that technology has made, have brought a new age of which the United States of America is the leader. Today, the whole



world is our neighbor, and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less and less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible, and the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject. In this atomic age, peace has also become a test of human survival.

Recently, we have witnessed two tragedies which have powerfully affected men and women all over the world. These are the tragedies in Egypt and Hungary. Our deeply felt sympathies must go out to those who have suffered or are suffering, and all of us must do our utmost to help them and to assist in solving these problems in a peaceful and constructive way. But even these tragedies have one hopeful aspect, for they have demonstrated that the most powerful countries cannot revert to old colonial methods or impose their domination, over weak countries. World opinion has shown that it can organize itself to resist such outrages. Perhaps, as an outcome of these tragedies, freedom will be enlarged and will have a more assured basis.

During this period of anxiety and distress, the United States has added greatly to its prestige by upholding worthily the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The danger of war is not past, and the future may hold fresh trials and tribulations for humanity. Yet, the forces of peace are strong, and the mind of humanity is awake. I believe that peace will triumph.

## Better Understanding of American Policy

### PRESS CONFERENCE

*Transcript of the press conference held at the Ballroom, National Press Building, Washington, D. C. on December 19, 1956, at 9:15 a.m., by Prime Minister Nehru:*

Mr. Frank Holeman, President of the National Press Club: On behalf of all the officers and members of the National Press Club, I want to give a warm welcome to our guest today. This is his second visit to the National Press Club. In 1949 he addressed a luncheon here. This time he preferred to give his whole time to questions. Somebody must have told him that reporters would rather talk than eat.

Q. (William McGaffin, CHICAGO DAILY NEWS): Mr. Prime Minister, in your speech last night, sir, you said the talks you had had with the



President will help you in many ways in your thinking. Sir, could you spell that out a bit? In what ways do you expect that these talks will help you?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Well, it is not an easy question to answer. Primarily by getting a much better understanding of American policy, and more especially of the President's background of thinking in regard to it, which is very important.

Q. (*Bill Downs, C.B.S. NEWS*): Mr. Prime Minister, in your speech last night to the American people you said that the forces of peace are strong; the mind of humanity is awake. How do you apply this to the Soviet Union in light of the events in Hungary?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Well, I applied it, that phrase, more especially to the events in Egypt and Hungary, that is, the reactions to those events in the minds of people, whether they are presented in the United Nations or elsewhere, whatever means of judging one had about public opinion.

If you are referring to the minds of the people in the Soviet Union, obviously I have no sure indication. But I imagine that people in the Soviet Union are not very happy about events in Hungary, if I may put it mildly in that way.

Q. (*David P. Sentner, HEARST NEWSPAPERS*): Mr. Prime Minister, do you believe that the technique of Mahatma Gandhi of passive resistance could be used successfully by the Hungarian people?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* I can't give a reply about what might happen in Hungary or any particular place because I am not adequately acquainted with the background in the sense of when people apply a technique they must, to some extent, be trained in it; they must, to some extent, understand it.

There is always a danger of superficially applying a technique and not adhering to it and thereby falling between two stools; but I do believe that that type of technique is not only effective but, if I may say so, in the long run more effective than other techniques, if people have understood it and can do it in an organized way.

Q. (*Raymond P. Brandt, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH*): Mr. Prime Minister, competent authorities have said that the Asiatic countries, notably India, Ceylon and Burma, will be more adversely affected by the closing of the Suez Canal than England.



Will you work with the United States, France and Great Britain for the immediate clearing up of the Canal regardless of what personnel and machinery is used?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* No, sir. While it is true that the closing of the Suez Canal affects India in the sense that it sends up the prices of our exports and imports, and delays things coming, I don't think it would be true to say that it affects us more than the other countries you mentioned; but quite apart from that, the real question is not how much it affects us, but what steps should be taken to get back to normality there; and we are anxious, of course, that steps should be taken, subject always to the sovereignty of Egypt, and we don't want to ask for steps to be taken which offends that sovereignty in any way.

Q. (*Chalmers M. Roberts, WASHINGTON POST*): Mr. Prime Minister, as a result of your talks with the President, is it possible that you will stop in Cairo on your way home to discuss with Colonel Nasser either the Canal settlement issue or the Palestine problem?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* I am afraid there is no chance of my stopping in Cairo on my way back, well, for two reasons: One is, it is just a question—it is very difficult for me, practically speaking, to do so. I have to be back by a certain date in Delhi. If I had the chance I would gladly have stopped there.

Q. (*Chalmers M. Roberts, WASHINGTON POST*): Do you have any other plans for Indian participation with the United States to settle either of those two Middle East problems?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* No, we have no particular plans. We function, as you know, in the United Nations, and we function on the diplomatic plane where there are frequent consultations. We have no particular magic plan to do it.

Q. (*John L. Steele, TIME MAGAZINE*): Mr. Prime Minister, did you bring to President Eisenhower any message from Chou En-lai and/or if not, would you give us your appraisal of Chou which you may have given the President?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* These personal appraisals are rather embarrassing.

I did not bring any particular message from Mr. Chou En-lai. But naturally, I have had talks with him and I told the President, gave him the gist of our talks in regard to some matters of common interest.

As many of you know, Mr. Chou En-lai is a rather remarkable man and impressive. He gave me the Chinese viewpoint in regard to certain



problems of Asia and—well, I conveyed it to the President, not as a message from him, I mean, but in explaining what their thinking was.

Q. (*John L. Steele, TIME MAGAZINE*): Can you give us the gist of that, sir?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: The gist of that, I would say that they have certain complaints, complaints in the sense of steps taken or not taken.

They say—I am merely repeating—that we have gone several steps forward, but there has been no favorable reaction on the other side, broadly speaking that is the gist of their position.

Now, you may have a different opinion, that is a different matter.

Q. (*Mrs. May Craig, PORTLAND (MAINE) PRESS HERALD*): Mr. Prime Minister, would you agree to a Suez settlement which would allow Egypt to continue to bar Israeli ships?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: I shall answer that question slightly indirectly. That is to say, I think that the Suez Canal should be opened to all ships without exception.

Now, the question that has arisen there, that is before these recent developments, was about Israeli ships being barred, and as to the interpretation of the old Convention of 1888 or some such year, that is to say, I believe President Nasser said that “I accept that 1888 Convention completely,” but his interpretation of that was that if he is at war with a country, then it does not apply.

Now, it is a question of interpretation. I should imagine that some court, like a Supreme Court, the World Court, should be asked to interpret it, and whatever interpretation they give should be accepted. That is one way of it, so far as the past is concerned. So far as the future is concerned, we can sit down and have a new Convention.

Q. (*Charles W. Roberts, NEWSWEEK*): Mr. Prime Minister, sir, last night you spoke of India's dedication to liberty, equality and dignity of man, and freedom of the human spirit. How do you reconcile this concern and dedication to freedom of the human spirit with India's refusal to condemn Russia's aggression in Hungary?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: There is no question of India refusing to condemn anything or not.

If you are referring to one of the recent resolutions of the United Nations Assembly, you will remember that a resolution was put forward by India, and amendments were moved.



Now, that resolution put forward for India expressed in fairly strong terms India's views about what had happened in Hungary.

The whole point was are we going to satisfy ourselves by a strong denunciation or condemnation or are we to have some constructive approach to the problem.

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| Now, India attempted to put forward a constructive approach which, in effect, was that the Secretary-General of the UN should move in the matter himself on behalf of the UN to get things going, otherwise people sit apart from each other, condemn each other, and nothing is done.

The point was here is a very serious issue, we want to help Hungary, we want to do many things. Well, how are we going to do it? If we think that by condemnation it will resolve itself, well and good. But we thought that some other constructive approach—we expressed our disapproval of what had happened there in very strong terms. It is a question of the context and the wording and how you end up.

Q. (*Milton Friedman*, JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY): Sir, do you believe the establishment by India of normal diplomatic relations with Israel would contribute towards the status of India as an objective force working towards Middle Eastern peace?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: About a year or two after Israel came into existence the Government of India recognized Israel. But it is true that we did not exchange diplomatic missions with Israel, and we have not done so yet.

Frankly, the reason was that we felt that we would be able to help in this matter more by not going a step further and having these—exchanging diplomatic missions. You know that our relations and contacts with the Arab nations are very considerable, and in this matter there is considerable passion, and we thought that was the better course.

Of course, we sympathize with many of the claims of the Arabs, their territory, in regard to refugees, and in regard to other matters.

Anyhow, we felt that the only way to settle this matter is for those people to come together and settle it then.

Now, after recent occurrences, it is infinitely more difficult for the present, at least—I'm not talking about the future.

Q. (*Edward T. Folliard*, WASHINGTON POST): Mr. Prime Minister, you have expressed the hope that President Eisenhower will visit India. Do you think he will go over there or did he give you any indication that he might or that he would like to?



*Prime Minister Nehru:* You don't want me to commit the President. This is the President's . . . I should be very happy if he comes. I hope he will come.

Q. (*I. H. Gordon, INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE*): Mr. Prime Minister, why do you advocate membership in the United Nations for Red China; and if Red China comes into the United Nations, what would you advocate doing with Nationalist China?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* So far as—well, legally and constitutionally speaking, there is only one China. What I mean is the mainland of China does not recognize a separate Formosa Government, and the Formosa Government does not recognize the other government. They both claim to be one. It is not that either claims to be two. Each claims to be the real article, the other not. So the question two does not arise. Neither of these two claim to be two or want to be two, and I do not think that in the circumstances of today or in the context of history, it is likely that two can continue.

Obviously, the Formosan Government, at the most, is the Formosan Government, it is not China.

Let me say, the map will show you it is not China, whatever else it is. It is Formosa, and to call it China is slightly stretching language.

Q. (*Richard L. Wilson, COWLES PUBLICATIONS*): Mr. Prime Minister, have your discussions with President Eisenhower led you to believe that the United States has a new policy toward neutralist nations which, basically, is more acceptable to India?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* That is a difficult question for me to answer because you are wanting me to tell you what American policy is, what is United States policy.

What I say is this: That I gathered the impression that the policy of the United States in—I am not referring to any basic change—but it is a flexible policy adapting itself to circumstances. How it will adapt itself I cannot say, but it is not as rigid as I thought.

Q. (*Sarah McClendon, EL PASO (TEXAS) TIMES*): Mr. Prime Minister, sir, you are familiar with our program whereby we sell our surplus commodities to the foreign governments in exchange for their local currencies, and then we loan part of this local currency back to you.

I wonder if you find this program helpful or harmful?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Well, that is a kind of broad question, which I can't answer broadly; but insofar as it has happened in India, it has



been helpful, very helpful to us. Recently there was a wheat deal, which was very helpful to us.

Q. (*John M. Hightower*, ASSOCIATED PRESS): Mr. Prime Minister, do you find that the policy of the United States with respect to Red China is less rigid than you thought?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: No, I am afraid I can't answer that question because I really cannot say yes or no to that.

Q. (*Paul A. Shinkman*, WASH-WDON): Mr. Prime Minister, you said in your address to the American people last night that your economic program in India calls for purposeful planning and the willing and active cooperation of your own people.

Are we to understand from that that you don't require also material support from outside, for example, from this country?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: We have to face such a tremendous problem—the problem may be divided up into two parts. One is the major part, really, what we have to do in our own country, and the resources we have to raise in our own country, which inevitably must fall on the people.

The other is when you industrialize, you have to get machinery from abroad, which involves foreign exchange and the like, which, whatever the effect on the people, the countries accept unless they export and get things in exchange.

However, a brief answer to your question is that foreign help in this matter can be and is of great assistance, even though the quantum of foreign help compared to what the country does, is small. The real burden falls infinitely more on the people of the country, but even the relatively small help that comes is of vital importance. It can make a difference; therefore, it is very welcome.

Q. (*A. D. Rothman*, SYDNEY (AUSTRALIA) MORNING HERALD): Mr. Prime Minister, in view of the fact that India has constantly stressed its belief in the self-determination of nations, there is a considerable feeling that there is inconsistency between that point of view and India's actions in relation to holding a referendum in Kashmir. Can you clarify that for us?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: Well, I will answer your question briefly, but you do not expect me to clarify a question which has rather baffled people for the last eight years. The papers on that question run into a large number of volumes.

You must remember the beginnings of the Kashmir trouble, the beginnings were unabashed aggression, armed aggression on Kashmir, and unless you keep that in view, you will not understand the rest of it.



We talk about aggression a great deal. There is no doubt that that was aggression, and there is no doubt that the United Nations Commission that went there acknowledged the fact, too.

It must follow from that—you talk about a plebiscite or a referendum. The first thing laid down by the United Nations Commission was that Pakistan armies should withdraw, and the aggression should cease.

Well, it is eight years, and they have not withdrawn yet. Nothing else follows unless that is done. As a matter of fact, in Kashmir there have been elections, there is an elected Assembly, there are going to be elections on an adult basis in about three months' time, and I really would invite any of you gentlemen who care to go and have a look around there, and then form an opinion.

Q. (*William McGaffin*, CHICAGO DAILY NEWS): Mr. Prime Minister, could we go back for a minute to your answer about U. S. policy being not as rigid as you thought it was: Could you give us some instances of that, sir, not as rigid in the question of Asian neutralism, perhaps?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: I can't give you instances because I am giving impressions of approaches.

I may not have got a correct impression quite possibly, because it is not in regard to any particular subject we discussed, and I found a change there, but the general approach to these problems seems to me to be governed by an appreciation of a changing world, and trying to fit in with these changing conditions.

Q. (*Joseph Chiang*, CHINESE NEWS SERVICE): In regard to the question of China, sir, as you know, the United Nations, the American governments and other free nations of the world recognize the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa.

Do you think they are wrong?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: Surely you do not expect me to be rude to anybody. The fact that we do not recognize it or we recognize the government on the mainland should indicate our views on the subject.

Q. (*Edward P. Morgan*, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY): Mr. Prime Minister, India is held up as an exponent of moral force in the world.

How does the Soviet Union fit into your definition of moral force, and whether it fits or not, do you judge that the present policies of the Soviet Union add up to a force for good in the world?



*Prime Minister Nehru:* Well, first of all, I disclaim entirely any claim to moral force for India as a country.

I do think that our leader, Mr. Gandhi, was an exponent, and a very powerful one, of moral force, and that he has influenced India greatly in the right direction, and we try to some extent to follow what he said. Sometimes we fail, sometimes we succeed in a small measure, that is, I do not wish anyone to imagine that we in India think ourselves more moral and higher or better in any way than others. We do think that our leader set us a very fine example, and we try to keep it in mind, to the best of our ability.

About the Soviet Union, as about any country, including India, I think you will find that there is a great deal of good and bad both. The proportions may vary. I don't know if you want me to discuss Communism as such or the application of it, those are big questions; obviously there are many things in the Soviet Union in the past and in the present with which I do not agree.

Many things have happened; but I have found taking the present conditions as they are today, the people of the Soviet Union are an extraordinarily friendly people, hospitable people, and passionately desirous of peace.

I believe also that many recent tendencies in the Soviet Union have been in the right direction of liberalization, democratization, and I should like those tendencies to function in an increasing measure. I believe they will function.

I don't think it is possible, because of a variety of reasons, for them to be stopped or for the Soviet Union to go back to conditions, say, a few years back, before these tendencies came into evidence.

Now, what the future will show I do not know.

Q. (*Edward P. Morgan, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY*): Are you saying by that, sir, that you believe that it is your own judgment that the so-called Stalinist element of the Russian Government is defeated?

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Did you say defeated? Defeated?

Q. (*Edward P. Morgan, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY*): Yes, that is what I said.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Well, I would put it this way: that the post-Stalin policy cannot, I think, be suppressed or made to revert to the pre-Stalin—to the previous policy, I don't think—it may; it may be delayed.



It may be obstructed occasionally, because that policy is not a question really of a few people at the top merely thinking so, but something representing broad opinions and developments.

For instance, take the Russian people as a whole. During the last generation or so, a people who were largely illiterate have become very literate; they read tremendously. It makes a difference to a whole people if they are reading a great deal, even if the literature they read is limited. It makes them think; it broadens them.

Then they have become technically minded. They are all working machines now. The old mujik is there no longer. At present he works a tractor.

All these have made a difference, and these differences ultimately show themselves in political organization and other matters or political views, they affect them.

I think the changes are fundamental, the changes towards democratization and liberalization.

Q. (*Chalmers M. Roberts, WASHINGTON POST*): Mr. Prime Minister, do you think it is possible, and you are a student of Marxism from way back, do you think it is possible that those changes or that liberalization can go in a Communist country to the extent of its becoming democratic in the sense you spoke of last night about India and the United States?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: If you refer, by democratic you mean, some kind of parliamentary system of government, well, I don't think so. I don't think anybody in Russia has experienced, has had in the past experience of it or thinks of democracy in terms of parliamentary government.

After all, parliamentary government is even today not extended to too many countries in the world. But I should imagine that the other forms of democratic expression, that is, the people's will prevailing, will almost inevitably take shape.

You ask me about Marxism. I am no authority on Marxism; but I should like people to remember always that Marx, who was a very big man, lived and wrote a hundred years ago, wrote about conditions in Europe, in Western Europe, in the early nineteenth century.

Now surely conditions have changed in the last hundred years, and any argument based on what happened in England in the early nineteenth century is not applicable today; and persons holding on to that argument, well, are not living in the present. They are living in the past, and have—

*The old mujik is there no longer*



and insofar as they have closed minds, they do not go ahead in their thinking or in their action.

Q. (*Herb Gordon*, INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE): Mr. Prime Minister, how would you propose that the world today take an initial step towards disarmament, and what should that step be?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: That is rather an intricate question; but disarmament, I take it, means lessening of the arms possessed or the armies, reduction of the armies, lessening of the armies, restrictions on the use of atomic warfare, all these are various steps.

But behind all that is the necessity to create a certain confidence that no party will misuse; that is the important thing really and, therefore, I suppose it is essential that arrangements should be made for some kind of checking and inspection to satisfy oneself that the agreement is not broken.

I can hardly discuss the details of it, but I do feel that after this long argument about disarmament, the two main parties concerned are remarkably near each other, actually factually what was put forward is not very different, and can easily be ironed out.

There is, of course, the background of lack of confidence, that is the real thing, not the proposals.

Q. (*Orlando*, ITALIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION): Mr. Prime Minister, do you consider Russia and China a single bloc?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: No, sir, not at all. I think they are very different from a single bloc.

Q. (*R. H. Shackford*, SCRIPPS-HOWARD): Mr. Prime Minister, last night you said colonialism in any form or anywhere was abhorrent to India. Do you consider the Soviet Union a colonial power, that is, a nation which imposes its will upon other nations, such as in Eastern Europe?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: Well, it depends on what meaning you attach to words in the English language. The word "colonial" has a certain meaning, which I do not think applies in that context; but it does apply in other contexts, that is, if you say the Soviet Union dominates over another country, it is perfectly correct, of course—and it is a bad thing, I agree with you. You may use the word "colonial" in a restricted way or in a wider way, whichever way you like, but the point is that, apart from words, the Soviet Union, as it has been seen quite clearly in the case of Hungary, has exercised a dominating influence and power there.



Q. (*Frederick Kuh*, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES): Mr. Prime Minister, can you say in what form we can cooperate with India's Second Five-Year Plan a little more fully?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: In the main it is in certain forms of aid and in the form chiefly of loans, long-term loans, which India can pay back gradually later.

Q. (*Milton B. Berliner*, WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS): Mr. Prime Minister, would you say that the United States policy today is more sympathetic than it ever has been to India's non-alignment policy?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: I should imagine that there is more understanding of it and, if I may say so, well, perhaps, a little appreciation of it.

Q. (*John L. Steele*, TIME MAGAZINE): Mr. Prime Minister, some of us are slightly puzzled as to what two gentlemen meeting for twelve hours straight on a rather muddy Gettysburg farm could think to talk about. I wonder if you could at least tell us the topics you discussed with the President.

*Prime Minister Nehru*: You see, in India we are supposed to be a people given to contemplation and leisurely talks. Perhaps some of that affected the President, too, that day.

Q. (*John L. Steele*, TIME MAGAZINE): Can you enlighten us as to the topics that you did discuss, sir, not as to the substance of them?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: No—But there was a large variety of topics. I really wouldn't even suddenly remember all of them, unless I have to think. Various things came into our minds. We discussed the past, we discussed the present, we even had a peep into the future.

Q. (*Richard Harkness*, NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY): Mr. Prime Minister, will you tell us, sir, if the speeches and votes of Mr. Krishna Menon at the United Nations express properly and precisely the foreign policy of you and your Government?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: Mr. Krishna Menon and his delegation naturally keep in the closest touch with the Government of India, and they know exactly what the background of the Government of India's mind is on the subject.

Naturally, as from day to day things happen, the delegation have to decide, they cannot confer every minute—and their decisions have been in accordance with our policy.



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I do not know to what particular thing you refer. Speeches—well, whether things are expressed more strongly or less strongly, unless I see it I cannot say anything. I think there has been, perhaps, some misunderstanding about every vote or about a phrase or a speech here and there, because it has been considered apart from the context.

If the context is seen it would appear to have a somewhat wider and different meaning.

Q. (*Lillian Levy*, NATIONAL JEWISH POST): Mr. Prime Minister, in your considered judgment, sir, how can India help resolve the difficulties, the differences and difficulties, between Israel and her Arab neighbors, particularly Egypt, and thus contribute to the stability in the vital area of the Middle East?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: This question has become so very much more difficult after recent occurrences, that is, after the Israelite invasion of Egypt, that I honestly do not know what one can do at the present.

I have, of course—I hope and believe that something may be done in the future, but just at the present moment, the question hardly arises or can hardly be considered in a normal way.

Q. (*Davis*, ASSOCIATED PRESS): Mr. Prime Minister, can you say what prospects there are for the release of the ten American prisoners who are still being held in Communist China?

*Prime Minister Nehru*: Well, I should very much like them to be released. I hope they will be released some time, but I have not—it would not be right for me or fair for me to say anything more because I am not responsible. How can I commit anybody?

Q. (*Davis*, ASSOCIATED PRESS): Sir, in the context of India being a bridge between the United States and Communist China, and your—

*Prime Minister Nehru*: I know that. But I find any statement made may be embarrassing because I can say anything I am going to do, but for me to talk about any other government is not only embarrassing to me but to other governments, and it may not be true, so I get into a false position.

Q. (*Warren Rogers, Jr.*, ASSOCIATED PRESS): Mr. Prime Minister, do you plan to take up this question of the Americans in China with Chou En-lai?



*Prime Minister Nehru:* Obviously, we have discussed this with him, and we will discuss it with him.

*Mr. Holeman:* I am sorry that is all the time we have for questions this morning.

I want to thank you again, Mr. Prime Minister, and present the National Press Club Certificate of Appreciation for appearing here and making news wherever you go.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Thank you.

# Broad Area of Agreement

## JOINT STATEMENT

*Joint statement by the Prime Minister of India and the President of the United States, issued on December 20, 1956, at the White House, Washington, D. C.:*

Prime Minister Nehru and President Eisenhower had long anticipated a personal meeting to discuss current world problems. In three days in Washington and a day at the President's farm at Gettysburg, they were afforded in a completely informal atmosphere the opportunity for full and frank talks on a wide range of problems of interest and concern to both countries.

The talks confirmed the broad area of agreement between India and the United States, which are bound together in strong ties of friendship deriving from their common objectives and their adherence to the highest principles of free democracy. The principles and policies of the Governments of India and the United States have evolved on the basis of respect for the dignity of man and of the need to improve the welfare of the individual.

The Prime Minister and the President are convinced that the greater understanding of their respective policies reached at these talks will facilitate the constant efforts of India and the United States towards the achievement of peaceful and friendly intercourse among nations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.



# Towards Closer Bonds

## FAREWELL AT WASHINGTON AIRPORT

*Text of farewell remarks made by the Honorable Herbert Hoover, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, and Prime Minister Nehru's response thereto at the MATS Terminal, National Airport, Washington, D. C., on December 20, 1956:*

*Assistant Secretary Hoover:* Mr. Prime Minister, it was just four short days ago that we had the privilege of welcoming you to Washington. During this short time, we know that with your friendly and informal talks with the President, Secretary Dulles and with the American people, the spirit of understanding between our two countries has grown immensely. I know that with this spirit of friendly understanding respect will grow even more in the future. May I wish you on behalf of the President and the Secretary of State a very pleasant journey home.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Friends, it hardly seems possible that I came here only four days ago. Such a lot has happened during these four days and I have seen so much, met so many people and above all met with so much friendship and cordiality that my mind is full of these vivid impressions. I am particularly grateful to the President with whom I had occasion to have long talks, but indeed I am grateful to everybody here, the Secretary of State, the other Secretaries of Government, and the many others whom I have met and whom, I hope, I may call my friends. I entirely agree with you, sir, that this visit of mine will result in those closer bonds of the mind, those friendly bonds, which are far closer really than any other bonds of understanding and friendship. I am very happy I came here and I feel sad at going away today. Thank you.

# Hearts Wide Open

## ARRIVAL AT NEW YORK

*Text of Statement by Commissioner Richard C. Patterson, Jr., and Prime Minister Nehru's response, on arrival at La Guardia Airport at 10:15 a.m. on December 20, 1956:*

*Commissioner Richard C. Patterson, Jr.:* On behalf of Mayor Robert F. Wagner and the people of New York City, it is a high privilege to welcome you and Mrs. Gandhi and the members of your official party.



You are no stranger among us, but we hope that you will find time to observe something of our economic, social and cultural life.

We are confident that your visit will result in even closer friendship and understanding between the peoples of India and America. Our gates and our hearts are wide open to you.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* I am very happy to come to this great City of New York. It is true that this is the second time I have come here, and even so I feel deep excitement in arriving in New York City.

I am very grateful for your welcome, and I am looking forward to my stay here.

# Evolving A World Community

## ADDRESS TO U.N. DELEGATES

*Following is the text of the speech of Prime Minister Nehru to a gathering of delegates to the United Nations General Assembly's Eleventh Session on December 20, 1956, at 6 p.m. in the United Nations Assembly Hall:*

*Mr. Dag Hammarskjold* (U.N. Secretary-General): Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have just enjoyed the hospitality of the Indian delegation and several of us have had a chance to shake hands and exchange a few words with the Prime Minister. But I am sure that we all welcome this opportunity for a new contact and a more direct contact with his views.

May I ask you, Mr. President, to take the floor.

*Prince Wan Waithayakon* (President of the General Assembly): Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Secretary-General: I have already had the occasion to welcome the Prime Minister of India this morning on behalf of the General Assembly and I would now only like to add my voice of welcome to that of the Secretary-General. I know that you are most eager to hear the message from Prime Minister Nehru which I am sure will be very inspiring, and so I will not detain you any longer and will call upon the Prime Minister of India.

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, and distinguished delegates to the United Nations: The President has just said something about my giving a message. He gave me no clue as to





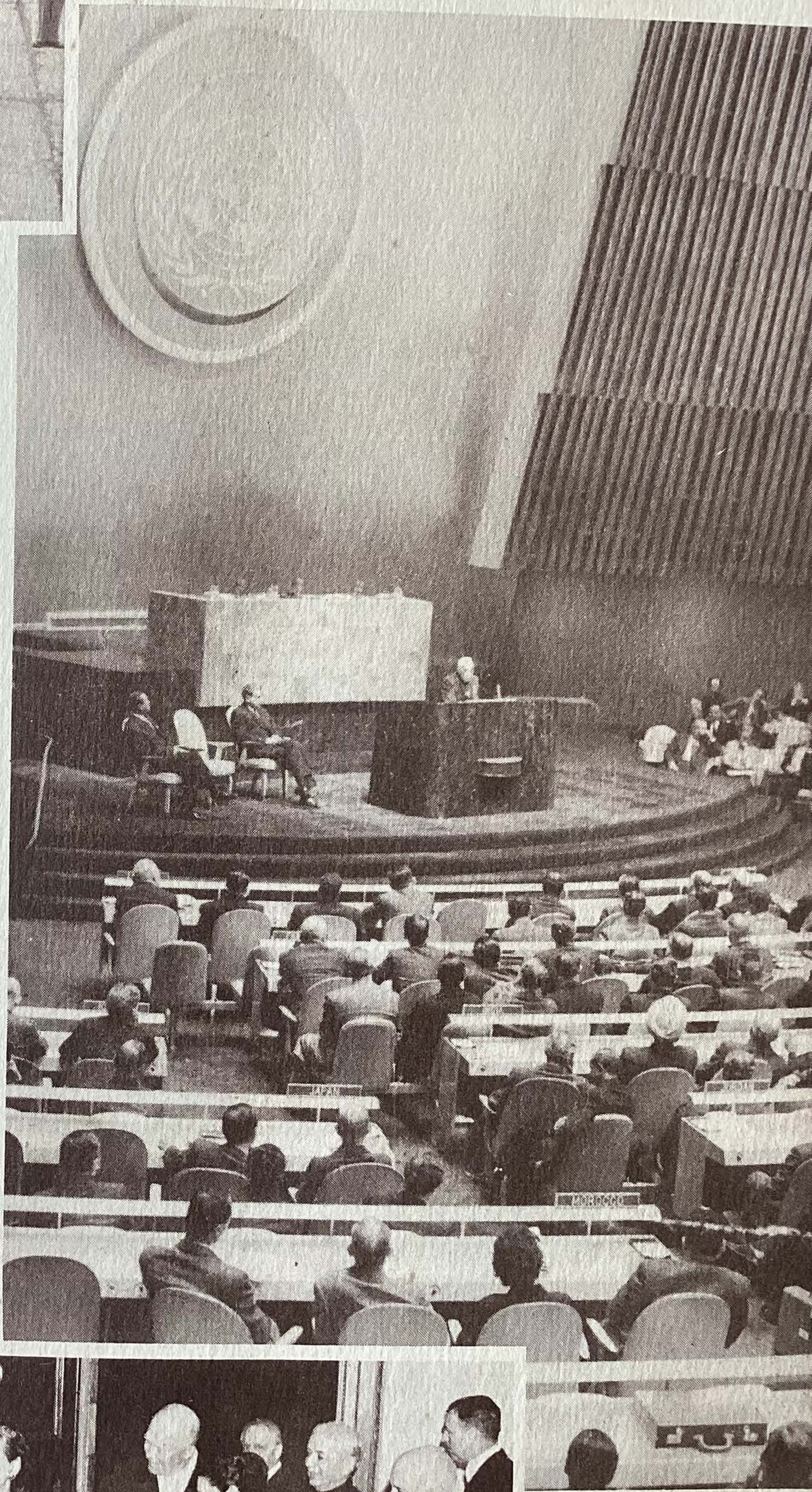
*American Air*







# American Album





what the message should be. And I am in some difficulty. It is true that one can talk about many things, but all of you, ladies and gentlemen, have been busy, and probably more busy than usual, in facing very difficult and intricate problems.

Now you are shouldering the burden of the world, if I may say so. I am a mere Prime Minister of a country. The United Nations in the eleven years of its existence has grown, and this year particularly it has assumed, I believe it is correct to say, an even more important position in world affairs than previously. Of course, even if the United Nations did not do anything wonderful, the mere fact of the United Nations itself is of the greatest significance to the world. But recently it has shown that it can face problems courageously and deal with them with a view to their ultimate solution.

I think perhaps, of the many things that have happened in recent years, this is one of the most hopeful. It may be that the United Nations decides something occasionally which is not agreeable to some of you or to me. That is bound to happen. But the point is that there is some forum like this, representing the world community which can deal with problems and, if not solve them suddenly by magic, it can positively try to solve them and ultimately, I hope, succeed, and negatively prevent the disastrous consequences of no solution at all.

So this great responsibility and burden has fallen upon you. Although I have many burdens to carry in my country—and in a distant way all of us are associated with the work of the United Nations—nevertheless I have not had the privilege and honor of ever coming here as a delegate. I have heard of your activities and how, in spite of difficulties, in spite of apparent conflicts, gradually this sense of a world community conferring together through its elected representatives is not only happening but seizing the minds of people all over the world.

That, I think, is a great event. I hope that, gradually, each representative here—while, obviously, not forgetting the interests of his country—will begin to think that he is something more than the representative of his country, that he represents, in a small measure perhaps, the world community. I hope that this thinking in terms of the whole will gradually take the place of separate thinking, in terms of each country.

Now, quite apart from the problems which you have to face, the thing that worries me often—if I may say so with all respect—is the manner of facing these problems. It is because of that that I welcome this development—gradual, no doubt, and difficult—of a sense of facing the problems from this larger point of view, this point of view of the world, of the principles which are laid down in the United Nations Charter and which should gradually be translated into effect in the world.



You will forgive me if I refer to something which has very powerfully influenced my own country. I represent a generation in my country which struggled for freedom, and which struggled for freedom in a particular way, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. Now, the one major lesson that Mr. Gandhi impressed upon us, in season and out of season, was how to do things, apart from what we did: objectives and ends we all have, but what is important is how to proceed in attaining an objective, how to proceed so as not to create a fresh problem in the attempt to solve one problem; never to deal even with the enemy in such a way as not to leave a door open for friendship, for reconciliation.

I think that in this matter our country and the United Kingdom—whatever our past history of conflict may have been—did set a good example when we came to an agreement resulting in the independence and freedom of India, and resulting, further, in friendship between the two countries. It is rather a unique example that we who, for generations past, had come into conflict with each other, with resultant feelings of ill will and hostility, nevertheless—having solved the problem of the independence of India—could forget that past of hostility and could be friends. Certainly, credit for this is due to both parties, but to some extent it is also certainly due to the manner of approach that we had under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi. Always he was telling us: “You are fighting for a principle—for independence. You are fighting against, let us say, British imperialism; you are not fighting the British people; you are not fighting anyone British; be friendly with them.”

I may tell you that there were occasions in India—and many occasions—when there was tremendous anger and bitterness at something that had been done; our people may have been shot down or beaten down in the public streets. But on no occasion do I remember, even when passions were excited, that an Englishman could not walk unharmed through even a hostile crowd in India. That is rather remarkable.

I do not say that Indians are more peaceful or better. It is not that at all. They are as feeble specimens of humanity under stress and strain as any, but it was this repeated lesson that was driven into our heads. And once or twice, when our people misbehaved, Mr. Gandhi took a step which enraged us younger people at the time. He stopped the whole movement. He said, “You have misbehaved. Stop it. I do not care what the consequences are.”

So, year after year, decade after decade, he trained us. I do not know if we became any better for the training, but a certain habit grew—a habit of thinking as well as a habit of action.



I gave that instance because I do feel that there is something in it, whether dealing with national problems or international problems. Wars come, and whether wars have been good or bad in the past may be argued. But after the war we often find that the problems that we have to face are more difficult than before the war. The problems have not been solved, even though victory has come. The question, therefore, is to solve problems and not have other problems—and perhaps more difficult problems—afterwards.

We cannot afford to take a short-term view. We must look ahead, and the only way to look ahead assuredly is for some kind of world order—call it what you will; “one world,” or whatever it may be—to emerge in this world of ours. There is no other way. That is obvious.

If that is so, nothing should be done, even in the excitement of the moment, which comes in the way of the evolution of that order. Nothing should be done which increases hostility and hatred and bitterness. There is plenty of hatred and bitterness in the world today. We all feel it. I feel it; you feel it. We cannot become angels, but nevertheless the actions we indulge in—in a larger way as nations, or as individuals—might perhaps be so controlled, without giving up a single principle or any single opinion that we may hold, as not to make the path of reconciliation difficult.

Now recently we have had, apart from the normal major problems of the world, two, well, developments, incidents, tragedies—call them what you will—which have engaged the attention of this august Assembly. You know them: whether it is in Egypt, or round about, or in Hungary, or round about—both very important and very unfortunate happenings, and yet both of them, perhaps, having an element of good in them too, not in the act itself but in the consequences.

Now many things have emerged from that which personally I welcome—apart from the sorrow at the tragedies—and the one big thing that has emerged is that world opinion is today a strong enough factor not to tolerate what it considers wrong—and world opinion chiefly represented in the United Nations Assembly, and elsewhere too in other ways. That is a very important factor, I think—an important factor which, in future, will probably deter or make more difficult any such aberrations from the path of rectitude by any nation, if I may use that word, and every country, weak or strong, will have to think twice before it does something which enrages world opinion. That is a good thing, and that itself shows this development of some kind of conscience of the world.



戰爭起於觀念

After all, wars and other conflicts take place because something may happen, but essentially because something happens in the minds of men. I believe that in the constitution of UNESCO it is stated that wars begin in the minds of men. It is perfectly true. Therefore, if I may venture to suggest to you, who are much more experienced than I am in these matters, it becomes important, I repeat, that any decision we may arrive at—and it should be according to principles no doubt—must not lead to greater bitterness as far as possible. To some extent it might. An attempt should be made to avoid that. The attempt should be to solve the problem and not merely to exhibit our anger at something that has happened, although there is an anger there of course; there is annoyance. But, after all, we are working for the future, and that future can only be of co-operation between countries based on freedom of nations and freedom of individuals.

Now there are these two problems before you, and they are being dealt with by the Assembly. I can offer no suggestion except what I have said in the way of an approach to them; that is the way of tolerance. Tolerance does not mean carelessness; it does not mean just passivity. It means something active. It does not mean forgetting any principle that you stand for that is laid down in the Charter.

I think it is of the greatest importance that the United Nations, as should all of us, should keep in mind always the Charter of the United Nations. That is the basis.

It may be that you cannot give effect to the Charter quickly or suddenly because the world is imperfect. Nevertheless, step by step one should move in that direction and keep that fresh in our minds. If so, then you will advance in the right direction. At the present moment and always—perhaps more at the present moment—I think the first thing to remember and to strive for is to avoid a situation getting worse, to avoid finally a situation leading to major conflict because, as we all know, a major conflict means the destruction of all the values one holds, however justified one party may think in having it.

Because of the development of various new types of weapons, war has really become an impossible proposition for any sane world or any sane country. Wars have been terribly bad previously, and we have seen that wars have not solved any question. Negatively they might have done something; positively they have not solved anything. Now it is clear that, far from solving anything, they may bring enormous destruction. So the very first thing to remember is the avoidance of war, and the avoidance of creating a situation which might drive the world into war. Nobody wants war, but perhaps we do not always think about



creating situations which might ultimately result in the madness of war. That may perhaps be the rather negative side to this question.

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The positive is working actively for peaceful solutions based on principle and at the same time based on the future co-operation of the world. We have to live at peace with our neighbors. There is no other way to live. And today, with various developments, every country is practically the neighbor of the other. No country is far removed. In other words, we therefore have to work for co-operation among all countries of the world.

Unfortunately, we have had what is called the cold war. Perhaps the cold war is better than a hot war or a shooting war; undoubtedly it is. It can be pulled back. When a shooting war begins, nothing can be pulled back until it exterminates a large part of the world. Nevertheless, surely the idea of the cold war is the very negation of what the United Nations stands for.

Cold wars mean nourishing the idea of war in the minds of men. If we go on nourishing the idea of war in the minds of men, then obviously there is always the danger of its bursting out from the minds to other activities.

I remember Mr. Gandhi telling us something, which may not be applicable here on this occasion—it was said in a different context. Mr. Gandhi, as you know, was devoted to non-violence and preached non-violence all his life, and yet he said, “If you have a sword in your mind, it is better to use it than to nurse it and nourish it in your mind all the time. Take it out, use it and throw it away, instead of being frustrated in yourselves and always thinking of the sword or the use of the sword and yet superficially trying to avoid it.”

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Therefore I submit to you that this idea of cold war is essentially, fundamentally wrong. It is immoral. It is opposed to all ideas of peace and co-operation.

It may be, of course, that, because human nature is weak, countries may quarrel. That is a different matter. But let us at least be clear in our minds as to what the right way is and try to follow that.

We have, as we know, all kinds of military alliances. It is not for me, especially on this occasion, to criticize them or to say that they are justified or unjustified. Nevertheless, since you have been gracious enough to ask me to speak to you, it would serve little purpose if I talked empty platitudes to you, and I want to place before you what I have in my own



mind. I am quite sure that at the present moment, as we stand today—I am not talking about whether something might have been justified in the past or not, but today—all these pacts and military alliances are completely out of place.

I would go a step further. They are unnecessary, even from the point of view of those people who have those pacts and alliances. I may admit for the sake of argument that they were necessary at an earlier stage when conditions were different, but for the moment I would like you to consider circumstances as they are today, and I do submit that these pacts and alliances do not add to the strength of any nation. They only make that country or some other country hostile. Thereby armaments are piled up, and disarmament becomes more and more difficult. Hatreds continue; in fact, a cold war continues.

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If it is our objective, as it must be of any reasonable person, that we must have peace, then it follows necessarily that we must not have cold war. If we must not have cold war, then it follows necessarily that we must not buttress our idea of peace by past military establishments and pacts and alliances. All this seems to me to follow logically. It may be that you cannot suddenly give effect to your wishes. That is a different matter, and you must face it. But you must aim at that and state that you aim at that.

I have no doubt that all the peoples of the world, wherever they may live, are passionately desirous of peace. I doubt that there are any people anywhere—even those who sometimes talk rashly about these matters—who desire war. Certainly the common man all over the world, in every country, desires peace passionately. If that is so, why should we not follow that path? Why should we be led away by fears and apprehensions and hatreds and violence? That is logical, and yet I know that life is not logical. Many other things come in. Nevertheless, an attempt might be made to follow the logic of this argument.

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We have seen and we know that the presence of foreign forces in a country is always an irritant; it is never liked by that country; it is abnormal.

It may be that an abnormal situation takes place because life is sometimes illogical and abnormal. But the point is that the presence of foreign forces in another country is abnormal and undesirable. And it does not conduce even to producing that sense of security—now, at any rate—which it is meant to produce. It does not give a sense of security today. I am a layman, of course, and I know nothing about



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warfare—but, after all, I do possess some intelligence to consider these matters. And I know that with the development of warfare as it is developing today, as it has developed and will develop, any war that takes place is likely to be a world war, with missiles hurled from vast distances. If that is so, even the military practice of having places dotted all over with armed forces and bases becomes unnecessary and becomes simply an irritant and an invitation to some other party to do the same—and, if I may use the word with all respect, to enter into competition in evil and wickedness.

How are we to face this problem? I know that you cannot pass a resolution, even in the United Nations General Assembly, to put an end to this. You may pass a resolution, of course—but it will not put an end to it. However, if we are clear that that should be our aim, then surely we can work toward that end, even though it may take some time.

Connected with that, naturally, is the very important problem of disarmament. We all know how difficult it is. I remember that long ago the old League of Nations had a Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. It worked for years and produced I do not know how many dozens of fat volumes of argument and discussion and so on. And then the League of Nations itself considered all of it. And it came to nothing.

You cannot, by any manner of disarmament make a weak country strong or a non-industrial country the equal of an industrial country. You cannot make a country which is not scientifically advanced the equal of a country which is.

You can lessen the chances of war, the fear of war. Ultimately, of course, the entire question is—or at any rate, partly is—a question of confidence and of lessening the fears of one another. For that purpose, disarmament helps, although it does not equalize conditions. Dangers remain. But there is a powerful feeling for peace in every country and vast areas of the world which are backward, and poverty-stricken and unhappy, and which passionately want progress, are having the world's attention directed to their development. Surely, that is not only good in itself, but it will reduce the sense of fear that pervades the world and oppresses us.

What, then, can our possible steps be? Honestly, I cannot tell you exactly what steps you might take, because so many factors are involved. But I certainly feel that we must aim at two or three things.



One is that, according to the Charter, countries should be independent. Countries that are dominated by another country should cease to be dominated by that country. No country in the wide world—or, at any rate, very few countries in the world—can be said to be independent in the sense that they can do anything they like. There are restraining factors—and quite rightly. In the final analysis, the United Nations itself is a restraining factor in regard to countries misbehaving or taking advantage of their so-called independence to interfere with the independence of others. Every country's independence surely should be limited in the sense that it should not interfere with the independence of others. The first thing, then, is to have this process of the independence of countries extended until it covers the whole world.

Secondly, there is this idea—these ideas are all allied and overlapping—that we can ensure security by increasing our armaments; this notion has been rather exposed recently, because obviously the other party can increase its armaments and so, in a sense, the balance of arms would vary but little. In any event, total destruction may well be the result. Therefore, this maintenance of armed forces all over the world on foreign soil is basically wrong, even though such maintenance is with the agreement of the countries concerned. These countries may agree to it through fear of somebody else, in order to seek protection, but it is not a good way of thinking.

Now if we could remove these armies and, together with such removal, bring about some measure of disarmament—although I admit a difficulty in doing so suddenly—I believe the atmosphere in the world would change completely. I think the natural result would be a much more rapid progress towards peace and the elimination of fear. Furthermore, I do not see how you can make progress so long as you, I and all of us are constantly afraid and are thinking of becoming more powerful than the other country, and thus speaking to the other country from a position of strength. Obviously, the other country thinks in the same way and there can be no great improvement in the situation while it is approached from this standpoint.

I know that it can be said that all this involves risk to a particular nation or group of nations. I do not think there is any way to avoid this risk. Human life is full of risk and uncertainty and, certainly, the existing situation is full of risk and danger. So therefore, even if you look at it from the point of view of taking a minor risk to avoid a major one, such minor risk is an improvement. For my own part I am quite certain there is no risk.



We have seen in the world in the last two or three months how it reacts to what it considers evil-doing. That is one of the healthiest signs apparent. After all, even a country which might seem for the moment to be indulging in wrongful actions does so because it believes it can carry some part of world opinion with it. If it cannot carry such opinion, it is difficult for it to proceed. We have seen that even the biggest and strongest of nations cannot impose their will against world opinion.

Therefore, we have developed a very strong protection against a country which acts wrongly. Why not adopt this protection instead of these armies and armaments and so on? Instead of countries having armed forces in other countries, ostensibly to protect them, why not do away with the system of military alliances and pacts, and face each other frankly and openly and, if there is a quarrel, deal with it in a normal way, such as a quarrel between individuals, endeavoring to settle it by argument—either in the United Nations or elsewhere?

I submit to you that we have come to a stage in the world when a choice has to be made—not today, not tomorrow, if you like the day after tomorrow—but we really cannot go on following the old path which leads to no particular destination except the preservation of force and hatred. The choice has to be made.

I do feel strongly that these two events in Egypt and Hungary have introduced in their own way a certain new phase in historical development. Of course the thing has been developing for some time past, but this has suddenly laid bare this development for everybody to see and think what it means. And this phase of historical development must be dealt with by this august Assembly and by all countries with understanding, with sympathy, not with anger nor with the desire to humiliate anybody, for the moment you have that you get the psychology of cold war or war fever, when the other party tries to humiliate you. In any situation it is made difficult for the other party to agree where you drive a party into war and the choice becomes one of humiliation and surrender—which few countries are prepared to accept—or war. That is a bad result to produce even though our motives may be good, even though we may be justified in saying what we do or in acting as we do. If it leads to something wrong, something that we do not want, then we have erred.

So, to go back to what I ventured to suggest at the beginning, means are at least as important as ends; if the means are not right, the end is also likely to be not right, however much we may want it to be right. And therefore, here especially in this world Assembly to which all the



nations of the world look, I hope an example will be set to the rest of the world in thinking always about the right means to be adopted in order to solve our problems; the means should always be peaceful, of course, but not merely peaceful in an external way in the non-use of armaments, but peaceful in the approach of the mind, and that approach of the mind I have no doubt will create a reaction in our minds and an entirely different atmosphere will be created—a climate of peace will be created which will help greatly in the solution of our problems.

I ventured to say something which is not remarkable; maybe I am repeating platitudes to you, who are much wiser than I am in dealing with these problems, but as I have said it would have meant little if I had not spoken what I had in my mind. That would not have been fair to you or fair to me. I hope you will forgive me for this impertinence. I thank you.

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*The Secretary-General:* The little conversation which you just witnessed between the President and myself was about who should express the gratitude of the General Assembly and all those here, myself or the President. I feel that he is the proper spokesman for the United Nations, since he is the President of the General Assembly, but nevertheless I consider it a great privilege to express to you, Mr. Prime Minister, how deeply we felt the honor of having you here and listening to your wise words. We thank you.

# Problems and Human Sensibility

## ADDRESS TO AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR U.N.

*Text of Prime Minister Nehru's speech at the American Association for the United Nations on December 20, 1956, at 8:45 p.m.:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. Chairman, Mr. Governor, Mrs. Roosevelt, ladies and gentlemen:

I have been told that this gathering consists of very serious people, of people who consider the questions and problems of the world, not merely academically, but with a view to helping in the solution of those problems, people who represent various organizations, important organizations, in this country, and therefore have a large influence.



All this is both gratifying, and somewhat frightening. How does one talk to serious people? And people who are bent on doing something? Well, in a sense, all of us, sometime or other, want to do something, want to achieve something. Even I, in the course of my life, have tried hard to do something. Sometimes I have succeeded; sometimes not. Anyway, all of you represent members of the American United Nations Society, and therefore, you stand for the Charter of the United Nations, and for the ideas of a world assembly, like the United Nations, dealing with, and solving the problems of the world.

This afternoon I addressed, informally, many of the delegates to the present session of the United Nations. I said something there which possibly might have been applicable here. I shall not repeat all that I said there, but it may be that the one or two things that I said then might be repeated here, because, in my thinking, they are important, and I shall say what they are—that is, the approach to a problem, the manner of doing things, quite apart from the things themselves, quite apart from the objective aimed at, how to tread the path which leads to the objective. There is nothing new in that. Everybody knows that, but nevertheless, people think more of the objective than the way leading up to that objective.

And so, quite good objectives are sometimes vitiated, by not only methods adopted, which are not so good, but methods adopted which, instead of creating an atmosphere of good will, create something the opposite of this. Therefore, while we are dealing with difficult problems, they make them more difficult.

Why are problems difficult? Why are the problems the United Nations deals with difficult? Because they deal with human beings, and human beings are difficult. As individuals are difficult, groups are more difficult; and as nations, they become still more difficult. They are difficult, not only because—well, sometimes interests clash—but because they approach each other with a frame of mind which is the opposite of that of good will, especially nations. Individuals tone down. They meet each other. Nations, as a whole, don't meet each other; and the capacity of the individual for goodness and self-sacrifice is sometimes exhausted in dealing with his own country. He will give his life for his country, if necessary. He will serve his country and thereby will use up such funds of self-sacrifice and good will as he has got, and nothing is left over for the other countries, more especially when the other countries appear to be in the wrong, or appear to be opposed to the interests of his own country.



So these problems, any problems affecting human beings, become rather difficult.

There is another thing. More or less, it is recognized that human beings, as individuals, should observe some basic canons of moral law, whatever that might be—some standards of behavior. It is not equally recognized that the moral laws should govern the behavior of groups or of nations. The individual may be moral, or tries to be, but society—not in the social sense; in the larger sense—can be, and often is, very immoral in social groups toward each other. The same laws do not apply.

Now, therefore, it becomes of the greatest importance that we should at least approach these questions involving human beings with a measure of good will. Difficult enough the questions, you make them infinitely more difficult if you lack good will, or if you approach them in an angry manner. Much happens in this world which makes us angry, and sometimes the anger is justified. But it does not help, either in clear thinking, and certainly it does not help in getting the other party to welcome your approach. Your anger makes the other party angry too, and so, on either side, this angry attitude persisting, it becomes quite impossible to deal with the matter. You may, of course, end up by knocking each other down.

As individuals, it may not have any very distinct harmful results, but when it comes to war, it has very disastrous results, and when it comes to possible atomic war, then it may well exterminate everybody.

So that this approach, to which the Chairman referred, this approach in this particular Christmas season, the approach of good will, is most important. Good will, of course, is a positive quality. But apart from that positive quality, certainly the absence of active ill will would appear to be helpful and necessary.

I say this because so much happens in this world which fills us with anger in various ways. Naturally it happens. Sometimes interests clash within a nation; vested interest feels it is attacked by some other vested, or non-vested interest, and then we have clashes. It is obvious that interests clash. Sometimes the interest of nations, the interest of classes clash. It does not follow, I think, that the way to the solution of the problem of clash of interests is to increase the clash. To ignore that there is a clash is to be woolly-minded. There is a clash of interests in the world all over, between national interests, individual interests, class interests—at least, in the present-day world. Maybe in the future time there will not be any such thing.



To ignore it, is, as I said, to be woolly-minded. But to come to the conclusion that a clash of interests can only be decided by knocking each other down, is something worse than being woolly-minded. So we have to accept the facts as they are—the clash of interests—and take a more distant view, a long-distance view, and realize how to solve them, and not try to solve them by some immediate benefit, which is followed soon after by some greater evil happening.

These are rather vague philosophic generalizations, which do not help anybody to do anything. I realize that.

I should like to mention one thing. It is quite unconnected with what I have said so far. Here is this great country, the United States of America—a great, powerful, rich country, said to be, and being in fact, the greatest and most powerful country in the world. It is respected—or feared, as the case may be. I imagine that all its riches and power have not increased the reputation of the United States so much as a certain attitude that it has taken up in recent weeks. A certain attitude in regard, let us say, to Egypt. They took up an attitude, and the prestige of the United States shot up all over the world—I am sure, among the American people themselves—far more than its military power has brought it. Military power has brought it respect, certainly, as one respects a strong man, and people will keep away, for fear, but the type of respect that the action of the United States, in regard to the Egyptian question, was something infinitely different, deeper, and something worth having. The United States got there.

It shows that when a nation acts correctly, according to some principle which is widely accepted, and perhaps not caring very much for certain untoward consequences of that particular action, then it gains tremendous strength in the respect of human beings, and that is a great thing to have.

It shows, I think, that statesmen, politicians—and you will remember the type of that breed—usually lack courage to do the right things. When by chance they do them, they are surprised at the welcome it receives, because most of us, naturally, have to think of all sides and aspects of a question, and we are a little frightened in angering one person or effecting the anger of a second, and so we balance these things and we produce something, the result of which is totally uninspiring. When, by chance, we do something that happens to be courageous and right, we are surprised at the wonderful reaction we get. I am not referring to the United States in this. I am merely making a general statement.



The fact of the matter is, the great majority of people in the world, I believe, hanker for good fellowship and for peace, and whenever any move is made, a real move for peace and good fellowship, it is widely welcomed, even though some politicians may not like it, because they think it might have adverse reactions.

More especially, ever since this terrible fear of atomic war began to confront us, the prospect of peace becomes something of high importance to everybody.

The conclusion I draw from all this is—two or three conclusions—and one is that there is this hankering for peace I see in every country, communist, non-communist, anti-communist—in every country. I haven't a shadow of a doubt about it, and the person who gives a lead, a real lead for peace, gets a large measure of appreciation and admiration in every country in the world.

But people are afraid to do so, to some extent, because of ingrained fears and apprehensions, lest they might be duped, lest something might happen to endanger their country. Well, naturally, every politician and statesman has to think of all these considerations. He can't take risks about his country. He can't function as an altruist, however good it may be to do that. One recognizes that.

But a time has come when, from the most practical point of view, apart from high ideals, it has become essential to take this viewpoint and realize that the essential need for the world is peace, and to put an end to this fear that grips the world.

Fear grips the world because countries are afraid of each other. There are hydrogen bombs; there are armies. There are armies spread all over. Fortunately, we haven't got those armies to spread out. I am not at all sure we would not have behaved more foolishly if we happened to be strong. Fortunately we are not—at the present moment, and therefore can moralize much more easily than others can.

How, then, do we deal with the problems of the day? Well, immediately there are the problems of Egypt and Hungary. But there are other problems out of which these have arisen. There are countries under colonial domination. There are countries under not that type of colonial domination, but other types of domination, as we have seen in the case of Hungary. There are armies stationed all over in other countries, there are foreign bases, and there is the armament race, all of which raise this fear, this complexity.

hanker for peace



How do you deal with them? They go on bargaining, they approach each other, fearing that something they might do may appear to be weakness, or might result in weakness, or the other party may take advantage. That, as I said, is a thing which cannot be ignored, because people responsible for their country's destinies cannot take risks.

But, on the other hand, the gravest risk today is to carry on as we have been doing. That is a terrible risk. So it becomes a choice of risks, if you like, a choice of the lesser peril. I have no doubt in my mind that the lesser risk and the lesser peril is to be a little courageous and put an end to these causes of fear and conflict, to have disarmament, to remove these armies wherever they are. I don't think that even in a military way it adds to any risks in the present circumstances.

But above all, to take up each question and try to solve it so as to make it easy for the other party to help you to solve it. There the solution becomes more difficult, except by headlong conflict, which we want to avoid.

Now, this seems to be an obvious proposition, and yet it is not thought of so much, because one gets angry, and in one's anger, one tries to adopt methods or use language which creates barriers towards that solution.

Therefore, I come back to what I said: it is important that in whatever we do, let us stick to our principles by all means, because if we leave them, then there is no anchor left. But remember this, and always remember this, that we are trying to solve the problem not merely to give vent to our anger. That does not help us in solving it. That is what often happens. This is a very simple proposition, and yet it is something with far-reaching effects.

As I said in the other place today, this lesson was dinned into our head by Mahatma Gandhi. He was a person better addicted to principles than anybody I know. He was absolutely unbreakable on anything he valued, and yet he told us, "Always be friendly with your opponent. Always give him a chance to repair the damage he has done or to come to a compromise. Never be uncompromising, and yet hold to your principles."

It seems contradictory, but it isn't, really, because the method was one of being friendly to the other party and not trying to injure or humiliate the other party, and yet holding to your principles and demanding that they should be honored.



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The method paid us. It took time, but it paid us, and it paid us more especially—not because we got independence; that we would have got anyhow—but we got it in a way which left no traces of trouble, bitterness and conflict behind us, and that is a big thing, because otherwise that would have pursued us and would have led to other problems and just drained our energies. May I submit to you, therefore, that in dealing with the questions of the day, the immediate questions of Egypt and Hungary, and the other questions which confront the world, we should approach them, always with a distant objective in view, which it really is—you can call it what you will—the creation, ultimately, of some kind of a world order. You may call it “one world,” or whatever you like. The removing of the major causes of conflict, and above all, the removing of the fear in the minds of people, and approaching each single problem with as much vigor as you like, but always not trying to humiliate the other party. If the other party suffers humiliation, he may suffer, and you may think you have won, but you have sown the seeds of future conflicts. It comes up.

You have seen in the activities of European nations, in the last thousand years, Europe, as I may say so, in all respects, as a continent, Europe has been a continent addicted to wars, more so than Asia—not that Asia has been very peaceful. But when I think of Asian history and European history, I am amazed as to the capacity for warfare that Europe has shown.

You see nations highly developed, highly cultured nations, in Europe, always overdoing something—in war, I mean. In trying to gain their objective, they try to humiliate the party they are fighting. They humiliate them, or try to, and the result is that the other party tries to humiliate them, and so it goes on. There is no end to that kind of thing. Revenge, call it what you like, that is bad. 後仇

Today it is infinitely worse, because there would be no chance for anybody to do anything if we go in for that kind of major conflict. Therefore, the problems of today can only be solved by this peaceful approach, by the reverse of vengeful approach, by the approach that we have to make friends with the other party afterwards.

After all, here was this great and terrible war ten or eleven years ago. The enemies of that war are friends today—and it is quite right, they should be. And yet everybody thinks they are never going to be friendly with the other country that they are at war with, but after a short time, a few years, they make friends with them, because ultimately



human beings are more sensible as to what they think, or what others think about them.

Therefore, for the present, I wish to lay stress on this particular aspect of the approach to the problem.

# Facing Responsibilities

## MAYOR WAGNER'S LUNCHEON

*Text of Prime Minister Nehru's remarks at Mayor Wagner's luncheon on December 21, at 2 p.m. at the Waldorf Astoria, New York:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Commissioner Patterson, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Governor, Excellencies and gentlemen:

I find it a little difficult to find words to express my gratitude to you, sir, Mr. Mayor, and to all those who are present here, for their warm and friendly welcome and for the honor you have done me by giving me this opportunity of meeting so many distinguished leaders of this great city and of this great country.

I feel overwhelmed on this occasion, and listening to the words which previous speakers have uttered, I feel that in the warmth of your heart you have said many things about me which I hardly deserve. But, perhaps, that does not matter much. What matters is what you feel, and what I feel. Words are important, certainly, but the thought behind the words is more important. And, I have sensed, even in this very brief visit to the United States, the warmth and the cordiality of the people of this country and their good will towards my country.

Somebody told me once that nobody should go to the United States for the first time. Well, I have come the second time, now. And, although the second time is brief, it has been full of so many things that, as I said yesterday, it seems quite a long time since I came here.

Time is measured by the clock, but really that is not a very satisfactory way of measuring time. Time, ultimately, is the succession of



sensations, feelings, and sometimes hangs heavily, and it does not seem to end at all, and sometimes it passes very quickly.

I have had experience with both, having had the opportunity—and, if I may say so—the good fortune of spending many years in prison from which, I think, I profited considerably. There were long periods when time seemed to stand still because nothing happened there. There was no way of measuring it by any sensation or experience.

It is true that the sun rises and the sun sets. And, you know the day is over.

But, it was very extraordinary that, after months and years in jail, the record of yesterday, and yesterday's history came to a standstill because the intervening period had no special element in it to strike the imagination. And, so time remains still and, again, outside activity I tried to make up by this intensive activity. Anyhow, I was referring to my few days' stay in Washington, and now in New York, which are not merely full of engagements. That is a minor matter, but full of deeply felt impressions which will remain and will come back to my memory again and again—impressions of the American people, of leading citizens of this country, of the ability in various departments of human activity, and something more, something which, perhaps, is almost more representative of American life than the great activities and progress America has made.

It is quite true, I think, as Prince Wan once said, "America is supposed to be a leader in scientific and technical advances in business and in many other departments of human activity." And, yet, I suppose if there were not something more basic about the American people, they would not be in the position they are in today. That basic thing is a quality of humanism, generosity and warmth of heart, and certainly adherence to what I would call the basic principles of the American revolution.

I referred the other day in my television broadcast to a fact which has meant much to me. Some years back an American friend came to my house in Delhi and gave me a cast of Abraham Lincoln's hand, a bronze, and ever since then I have kept it on my study table, and I gaze at it every day, partly because it is a very beautiful hand, beautiful art in many ways. There is a certain extraordinary expression of strength and gentleness in it, but more because it reminds me of a celebrated figure, not only of the United States but of the world who has been a hero of mine since my childhood, and the immortal words he uttered on



various occasions often remind me, in a sense, of my own duties, what I should purport. And, so, this quality of the American people is what has appealed to me most. It is obvious that any people, whether American or Indian, or any other, are a mixture of good qualities and bad qualities.

We are not saints; we are not perfect beings. And we try to progress, and it may be that some qualities that we have in India are perhaps more evident in India than in any other country; but we try, and maybe that is our failure, and probably is our failure.

We, in India, as you know, have been absorbed in a tremendous adventure, to begin with, the adventure of gaining and achieving independence. And, we were fortunate enough to achieve that which we had striven for, and dreamed about year after year. We achieved it.

The moment of our achievement was also the moment of our starting on another journey and another adventure, the adventure of building up India and raising her hundreds of millions of people, and that was a bigger task than the one of gaining independence.

Well, we are engaged in that adventure, and we are good hearted, and we realize even as we go forward, how difficult it is, how responsibilities increase, the more one grows the more the responsibilities of that individual or country grow with it. So, we are growing in strength, and we grow in many other ways. And, at the same time our difficulties grow, and our responsibilities grow. And that is inevitable. That is the price of growth, to face our responsibilities, because the United States has grown in hundreds of ways, and its responsibilities grow a hundred fold. And, that is the price we have to pay; we cannot escape it.

So, we are engaged in this tremendous adventure, an adventure, if I may say so, against our own failings, our own poverty, not against any people or any country. And, naturally, we are seeking the good will and sympathy of other people.

I remember vividly the sympathy and help that we had from the people of the United States, when we were struggling for freedom, and we are sure that, in this new adventure of ours we can have, and indeed we have had that sympathy and help.

Sometimes it is said that there are great differences between the United States and India in the international field and in other fields. I believe this is greatly exaggerated. Very obviously there are some-



times differences in outlook and opinion. Indeed, I imagine in the United States of America, among the people here there are differences. In India I know there are great differences of opinion. Yet, we come together. Yet we have all these people of the same ideals. We talk about democracy, and the very nature of democracy is, whether within a country or outside, to have clashes of opinion in democracies.

Well, the truth tries to emerge to the people, and the country, both together. It varies from the totalitarian countries where differences of opinion are not allowed to prevail. Only a single opinion comes up which precludes from the truth arising out of the clash of opinions and battle of ideals, from which comes progress.

So, it is a gross exaggeration, and I think, and I might say, it is wrong to say there are vital differences of opinion between the United States and India. There is a basic ground of principle on which we agree.

It is true that we have been conditioned and nurtured in a particular way, geographically, historically and traditionally. And, even our recent struggle for independence has conditioned us in a particular way. And, we would be untrue to ourselves if we did not accept that condition and improve and change it, if we can, but work in accord with our faith and beliefs. If we did not work in accordance with our faith and beliefs, we would not be worthy. Nobody is worth much if he cannot function according to his own nature and belief and principle.

Prince Wan Waithayakon, referred to the great Son of India, the Buddha, whose birthday has just been celebrated, the two thousand five hundredth anniversary, and we are trying to regain his message of peace and compassion.

Two or three hundred years after the Buddha, there was an Emperor of India named Asoka, a rather extraordinary man even though he was an Emperor; in the full tide of victory in a war, it suddenly came to him how terrible war was. He heard accounts of hundreds of thousands of people slain and made captives, and so on, and it came to him as a shock that he had won victory at that cost.

He stopped the war, and he, himself, has related how he felt about it, and inscribed it on stone tablets and pillars, not only on one, but they are strewn all over India. And, on them are inscribed his various inscriptions on how he came to the decision to put a stop to his own war after he had learned of the cost of human suffering caused by it, and he said, "No more war for me." He stopped the war in the middle of it.



40 There are interesting inscriptions of his in which he teaches his people all the time about the cause of righteousness. He had reverence, he said, to his own faith, but reverence to the faith of others. And he said, "Unless you revere the faith of others, your own faith will not be revered." So, he goes on repeating again and again the message of tolerance which he got from the Buddha.

I mention this because in spite of innumerable failures in our history, the history of India and the Indian people, this kind of message has been repeated again and again, generation after generation, and it has sunk in, to some extent, into our minds. And, in our own day, Gandhi repeated it. And that is the background of our thinking to some extent.

Maybe sometimes it enfeebles us, it is possible, and we want to be dynamic, and I hope we will become dynamic as, perhaps, in the past. It may be that, because of these tactics our life became stagnant and did not move, but stopped. Well, that is a bad thing for a nation. And we felt it and became subjugated to other countries and did not make any protest. We began to dream of the past, forgetting the present. That is not good.

Well, we pulled ourselves out of it, and now, I hope, we are gaining a measure of vitality, but behind all that vitality and dynamism, still behind all that, the message of the Buddha remains in our minds. It tells us that it is better to be friendly than to be inimical and, that it is better even to win the enemy over than to beat your enemy not by giving up your principles, because that is not winning him over, but while holding on to your principles, to hold the other party over.

Thus we come back to what Gandhi used to tell us always, and which he exemplified in his own conduct, and his conduct towards the British people against whom we were struggling.

We were weak and feeble and we must behave bold enough, but the fact is that the feelings we had toward the British people were friendly while fighting them. He said: "Even if you wish to push British rule out of India we have no enmity against the British people." And so a remarkable thing happened, and I do believe it is very remarkable that the minute the British rule went from India, there was no enmity against the British people, and we are great friends today.

There are other examples in the world, millions of examples, where people having become free still nurtured a dislike and even hatred. We



are not, by and large, a people who hate deeply. That is not our nature. We are grown up enough to know, and sometimes it may be a weakness, too. I have to admit it, but it is perhaps, if you think of this, you may get something of the background of what we are thinking because we are, in numbers, a great many people with a great variety and diversity, but a proud history, and even when we were split up, as we were and have many people with many languages, and all that, still throughout our history we have been bound together by some strange ideas, strange things, cultural and others, which have never allowed India to go to pieces even in her subjugation and misery, and we held together in that sense.

So, the basic ideas become reflected to some extent in our activities today, whether internal, external or international; not always, but nevertheless they are there in the back of our mind, in what we say and what we do.

So, as previous speakers mentioned the fact that, today, when the world is facing great problems, crises, which is perfectly true, I suppose that in almost every generation people have thought their generation is facing a great crises. Naturally, they think of today. But, I think it is true today to say that the world, today, does face a very important stage or phase of human history.

Whatever the ideas and technical advances that have taken you so far, it still poses new problems, and new developments in atomic energy, machinery, automobiles and other means of communications are terrific. There are new vistas opening up, the human race has tremendous power at its disposal, and it depends on how one uses this power, whether to good or ill. But, the problem of our age, apart from this question that we are facing, the immediate problems, international and national, and quite apart from what solution we have formed, there may be many different solutions offered, one may decide which one to take.

The real foundation, if I may respectfully beg to suggest it to you all, is the attitude of approaching this problem, whether in solving the problem you do not leave behind a half a dozen new problems.

Obviously the path of wisdom is to solve the problem and not the solution of one problem to lead to other, more difficult problems, as it has often happened in the past, often after wars that have happened. One wins a war — wins a war completely — and then one finds enormous problems have arisen, more than existed before the war. That is victory, no doubt, but it is not real victory of having solved the problem, but rather victory in a military sense and, maybe, in another sense.



Therefore, the point always is, how to achieve certain objectives. If you go to war it is for the purpose of achieving something. Who wants to go to war for the pleasure of it? You go to war to achieve something, you go to war because an enemy is obstructing something, or it is something you don't like. What do you do after victory? You have defeated the enemy, and that is only a small part of the job. The real job was to achieve something — the main objective being not the war, but the achievement of reaching a peace, something constructive.

The major thing that is to be avoided is to sow the seeds of future problems, of future conflict, and future wars.

Now, that leads one to think that the approach should be such as not to sow the seeds of future conflict, and does not mean, as I stated at the beginning, giving in on any point and surrendering a single principle. But, it does mean that in following one's principle one does that in a way to solve the problem and not merely to serve a satisfaction of expressing ourselves in a strong way, expressing our opinion in a strong way.

That may bring momentary satisfaction, but our objective is to solve the problem and in accordance with the principles one holds, and see that it does not lead to others.

I am sorry, but I hope you will forgive me in my rather philosophical generalizations but, as you have done me the honor of inviting me here, I thought I should say something I had in mind, which troubles me.

There will always be basic difficulties. There is the prophet. The prophet is a person who, I imagine, holds to the truth regardless of all consequences, and usually because he holds to the truth, regardless of all consequences, he is stoned to death. He is honored afterwards, no doubt, but for the moment he is stoned to death. The prophet can seldom be what can be called a leader of men, because the men have stoned him to death and honored him afterwards. He holds to his principles regardless of the consequences.

Then, there is the political leader, and I talk about the best type of leader. There are all kinds of leaders. Now, the political leader certainly wants to hold to principles, but he has to get these principles through to his people. He may have a certain conviction, but he has to convey that conviction to the others, especially in this democratic age. Unless there are other people who feel the way he does, he is helpless. So the leader always has a problem how far he should compromise with his principles.



The prophet does not compromise his principles regardless of the consequences. The political leader always has that problem, and should decide on how much of his principles to compromise to achieve something for his people. If he compromises too many of his principles, he has lost; and, he has lost his leadership.

So, it is a difficult problem which leaders of human communities have to face, and therefore have to strike a balance. So, that is not an easy matter, and more especially it becomes difficult in democratic communities because it is by no means sure. So, in democratic communities, what might be called men of high principles come always to the top. Other people of more varying qualities come up.

Nevertheless, we have found and I do believe most earnestly that, with all the failings and difficulties we have to face in a democratic way, that is by far the best and only way that I can conceive of for human progress. It is not perfect, by no means, but it does allow people to become perfect and gives them opportunities to become so.

And, I am anxious that every people have an opportunity to reach and be allowed to reach stature. Having done that, then, whatever the people do we have to accept, but give them opportunities to reach growth. If you take that from them, you have a totalitarian regime and you take something away from a people that is of most vital significance to human growth, and I dislike that intensely.

I have ventured to put some thoughts rather vaguely before you. You will forgive me, Mr. Mayor, but I really am infinitely grateful to you, Mr. Mayor, and all of you distinguished gentlemen, and I carry away with me the memory of this occasion for a long time. I thank you.

# Building for the Future

## ADDRESS TO U.N. ASIAN-AFRICAN GROUP

*Text of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's speech to the Asian-African Group of the United Nations, on December 21, 1956, at 2:30 p.m. in the Trusteeship Council:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Friends. I have no special message to offer to you but I wish to express my gratitude to you for this opportunity to meet the members of this group which has played such an increasing part at the head-



quarters of the U.N., which represents the great continents of Asia and Africa. I am grateful to you also, Sir, for the very kind and generous sentiments that you have expressed.

I do not quite remember when this group was first started—when did it start—1950—51—at Bandung?—at Bandung—started, I am told about five years or more, and as with everything which has reality behind it did not start artificially, but grew out of circumstances which delegates from these countries had to face. Anyhow it has grown now, which is something obviously important not only for our respective countries, but also for the United Nations.

It can powerfully affect the decisions of the U.N. this way or that way, and it can affect the policies of our respective countries to some extent. Some differences arise, I suppose, with all of us, in regard to various policies, which each country naturally has to determine for itself, and our representatives here may sometimes find it difficult to say or do something, which might commit their countries without—some new matter—without having occasion for that country having to consider the questions that come up from day to day. But it is obvious that all of us who sometimes differ from each other, facing different problems in each country, have some common bonds, some common approaches to important questions which has lead us to form this informal or formal group and discuss these matters here.

I think to some extent this group, perhaps, took a more greater shape and form after the Bandung Conference, which itself represented countries of Asia and Africa. Now I have no doubt that this group representing Asia and Africa performs a historic function.

I am not myself very anxious for groups to be formed on a continental basis or a regional basis, which while on the one hand bringing some countries together, inevitably results in separating them to some extent, from the others, who are outside that group. But I think that argument which may be valid, in certain circumstances, does not apply to this particular group. This is a big enough group; it is a geographical group, even though there might be some differences amongst them, but representing more specially countries that might be called under-developed—the countries that demand great attention should have greater attention for their development—the countries which in the past were, if not ignored, at any rate not enough importance was attached to them.

One of the major changes of the last few years or since the war, is a certain shift—well in the balances in the world—due to changes in Asia



and Africa, specially Asia. Although these changes are obviously are taking place there are many countries independent now, which were not independent—there is a tendency still for questions, relating to even Asia and Africa, and much more so to questions outside that region, to be decided by countries outside Asia and Africa. I can understand that other countries are interested in those questions, and have every right to participate in the solution of the problems of Asia and Africa.

I do submit that the old habit is not so evident today as in the past. The old habit that Asian and African problems could be decided by others has no meaning at all today. But the old habit persists, and it is not an easy matter for people and countries to get out of the ways of thinking to which they had grown accustomed in the past.

I think that this inclination is due to the fact that the people have not adjusted themselves to the reality in Asia and Africa. Of course Asia and Africa are not static, but changing, and developing. But this basic fact, I think, should be kept in view, not by us; I am talking of other countries.

I had the privilege of addressing the U.N. General Assembly about six or seven years ago in Paris, and I laid stress even then on this fact. I imagine the necessity for stressing this fact is not great today. The people realize the different conditions and developments, demanding special attention, specially enable all settlements of problems affecting Asia and Africa not be made without the consent and approval of countries in Asia and Africa.

Now recent months have seen many things happening in the world and more especially one particular matter which powerfully affects countries in Asia and Africa and others—a situation that arose in Egypt owing to invasion and intervention, etc., that has been something of world significance—that is something even more, I believe, in regard to consequence of certain historic significance. I have no doubt it will powerfully affect the future.

Now, may I say a word or two with all respect about how perhaps we might help in the solution of these problems that affect us in Asia and Africa and even world problems which are outside our region but which affect us.

This group consists of distinguished representatives of countries functioning in the U.N. who have to grapple with problems with a view



to their solution, not merely with a view to expressing opinion and leaving to chance and not merely with a view to expressing opinion strongly this way or that way. Because, after all we are grappling with problems, when we want to avoid war, we want economic and political and social progress; we want to develop a feeling of good fellowship, certainly among ourselves, and all other countries of the world.

When we had the Bandung Conference, we laid stress on that fact. The Bandung Conference was held for us to get together. It was not meant to be some kind of conference opposed to Europe or America. That was not its intention. Some people were afraid that it was so. We had no intention, if I may use the expression, of 'ganging up'; otherwise our voice was ignored and the voice of Asia and Africa was not effective.

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I do hope that while we function together, these facts might be kept in mind, because we are building for the future—a future not merely one of deciding problems on which votes might be taken in the U.N. today or tomorrow—but we are building up a future not of conflict between continents, but a future of cooperation and good fellowship of free and independent nations. And certainly we should take no steps that take us into another direction. Things have happened in the world which have moved us greatly and have angered us, yet again it is true that anger does not help us in solving the problems. Still the fact remains that the angered actions of today may be stumbling blocks of tomorrow. Are we to put up stumbling blocks on our path to face the difficulty tomorrow?

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Therefore, I do submit that this juncture of history, which I consider a very important juncture, because I do believe that we have arrived at a certain phase in historical development which is of great importance, may well lead us away from all the troubles of the 'Cold War' and conflict between nations towards a somewhat better and cooperative future.

I do not say that this will happen suddenly, but I do say that something has been happening, which has been more evident lately, and we should take advantage of it. It is obvious that each country can play a helpful role, and the U.N. can play the most helpful role of all. This group can play the important role, not only by pressing the claim of Asian and African countries, but in doing so we must impress the world that we have in view the future of the world—that we are working not merely in an angry way reflecting the passions of the moment, but the future which we and others will inherit.

I do trust that this may be kept in view, that the prestige of this group will rise and wield more influence than its votes in the General.



Assembly, because we stand for something constructive and not destructive.  
After all we want constructive efforts to solve the problems of the world.

May I finally express my great pleasure at some of the recent admission of members to the U.N. and to this group, including Japan which came in a few days ago. A little before that Morocco and Tunisia and Sudan came in, and I have no doubt that these countries will play a very important part in the U.N. and more especially in this group.

I am very grateful to you, friends, for this opportunity to meet you and say a few words to you. Thank you.

## Common Approaches

### ADDRESS TO U.N. COMMONWEALTH GROUP

*Text of Prime Minister Nehru's talk to the Commonwealth Group of the U.N. in Conference Room No. 7 on December 21, 1956, at 3:45 p.m.:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. Pearson,\* Ladies and Gentlemen.

As you know, I have come to this great city and great institution just for two days, and I have had a large number of engagements, but I am particularly glad that it was possible for me to come here for a short time and meet the representatives of the Commonwealth at the U.N. I know of course that the Commonwealth group here meets from time to time to discuss matters and express their respective opinions. I think that is a good thing. But it is not enough merely to deliver formal speeches at the U.N. It is much more important that we should discuss problems and matters in a more informal way amongst ourselves. Maybe sometimes we do not convince each other or hold different opinions. Nevertheless it is important that this should be done. It helps at least to understand the other's position, even if one does not wholly agree, and that is a great thing.

You have just referred, Mr. Pearson, to certain statements of mine in regard to the Commonwealth during the last two or three months, I

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spoke in our own Parliament on several occasions about the Commonwealth and made perfectly clear what the attitude of our Government is to it, in spite of differences of opinion on important matters. I do attach importance to this Commonwealth connection which I think is not only good for ourselves, but is good also to the larger cause of peace that we represent.

There are far too many disruptive tendencies in the world, that any tendency which brings together rather than separates is to be welcomed. The Commonwealth represents such a powerful tendency and shows vitality, that in spite of these differences, it can hold together and help in our having many common ways of working and common approaches in spite of our differences.

I hope that these meetings of your group here will continue and we will help each one of us to thrash out problems, and reach agreements if possible, and even if we differ, we will agree to differ and remain friends and associates in the Commonwealth.

Thank you for inviting me.

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\* The Honorable Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Government of Canada, and Head of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations.

# Planning and the People

## ADDRESS TO FAR EAST-AMERICA COUNCIL

*Text of Prime Minister Nehru's speech at the Conference with Board of Directors of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, Inc., at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, on December 21, 1956:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* Mr. Chairman, I am glad and grateful for this opportunity to meet the members of the Board of Directors of the Far East-America Council. What you have just said in explaining our own approach and attitude represents more or less in broad outline what we ourselves think about it.



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We are naturally very anxious to make progress rapidly, to increase the standards of our people. Apart from our desire to do so, there is the compulsion of events which forces us to do so. That is to say, social forces, social upsets. All kinds of things might happen if we don't proceed rapidly enough. So that is what I call the compulsion of events.

Now, we have approached this question in the strictest, if I may say so, practical way. What I mean is, with no ideological or doctrinaire approach. We want to get things done. We just don't mind what ideology the people may be concerned with, but one thing we have to preserve is the democratic structure of our politics and economy.

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Planning, what is it after all? It is getting people to do voluntarily what we want them to do. There is no compulsion. If they don't do it, then they don't do it, and the matter ends. So any idea of associating compulsion would not be correct.

Again, we feel that any kind of a rigid approach is not right. A rigid approach is not right because the conditions of countries differ, the backgrounds of countries differ.

Now, it is quite absurd, let me say, in the United States, to suggest some other way than you have here. It fits in; you have grown into it; you have prospered and all that. There it is, the example of growth and prosperity is there, and no question arises of your trying some other method.

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But you have had very, very special advantages, apart from a period of time—a vast country to explore and develop and all that. Well, we just haven't got that time at our disposal because if we waited, if our progress was slow, we would be overwhelmed, overwhelmed by two things: one, as I said, the social forces; and the second is just the growth of population.

Now, I don't mean to imply that our population is growing at a terribly fast pace; it is not. It is rather that our pace of growth is not big, but in totality. Because it is a big population to begin with, well, even relatively small growth makes a difference.

I don't think our pace of growth is more than the European countries; in fact, it is less. But when we start with a base of 360 million, well, additions become considerable and each growth adds to our problems, whether it is food or commodities or anything.



So we are compelled by these circumstances to find an urgent solution to these problems. Greater production of goods is our immediate aim so that people may have them. Generally all industries should flourish, big industries, small industries, little industries, any type of industry. Employment should grow; there should not be any type of unemployment which, apart from its being a bad thing in itself, again creates dangers for us.

So we have to face these problems, and when we sat down to think about them we didn't have any ideological approach. In fact, we avoided even terms which connote ideology. We just said, well, here is food. We must produce at least enough food for our people, not only today, but five years, ten years later, when the population is more. Cloth, clothing, and so on, housing—this, that and the other—the necessities, you might say. because, remember, that the problem in India, or the problem in any country in Asia is, first of all, to provide the necessities of life to all.

The luxuries, or even those things that are not luxuries, but which are not absolute necessities, really come after that.

So we sit down and we say, we have to provide these necessities. How are we to do it?

Well, first agricultural production. Then, because we have to give employment to people, we always have to face the problem that with higher techniques, which we must have—naturally, you can't have primitive methods of production; but the immediate effect of higher techniques is unemployment. The immediate effect of having had fewer persons to do it would be more are thrown out of employment, and then the social difficulties would rise.

Now that does not mean we are against higher techniques; we are not. We think that progress can only come through higher techniques. But the changeover has to be so planned that it does not create a new problem for us. We invited quite a large number of people—economists, some industrialists and financiers, and all kinds of people—to consult with us and to advise us from various countries.

It was peculiar, interesting, that they started off by telling us ideas which they had brought with them. What they gave us were good ideas, but gradually, after studying the problems for about two or three months, they became shaky about their own ideas as applicable to India.



They said, "We realize that the problems of India require some special treatment and not merely the treatment we had thought of."

In fact, they told us—they warned us—economists from abroad—English, Canadian, French, Poles, quite a number of people—they said, "You can profit by the examples, by the experience of other countries. Please do so. But please do not copy them. Develop your own economic approach in regard to your own problems. Otherwise, in trying just to get something from abroad, it may not meet all your particular and special problems." And we tried to do that.

We are trying to do that, in effect. Our approach is one of trial and error. We have tried to do something. If it does not succeed, we will retract our steps and function somewhat differently.

Also, the main problem of a country like India, that is an under-developed country, and which follows from its under-development, is the paucity and lack of resources for development for investment. The surplus for investment is very little, and you have to, well, do without things in order to create greater surplus for investment, and you must have more for investment. Otherwise you don't go ahead.

Now, how to do it? On the one hand, people can afford higher standards. On the other hand, in order to invest we wanted to save on this and that, and in a sense, in a way of forgetting their higher standards for the moment.

If we have a steel plant, well a steel plant is essential, but it takes about four or five years before it starts producing steel. Meanwhile it goes on absorbing money. And we have to guard against inflationary tendencies.

So all these problems we have to consider, trying to profit by the experience of others, but in the particular context of India as it is today, and always with the flexible minds, so as to vary the plan or vary our approach, where we think it might lead us into difficulties or the wrong direction. That is our broad approach to this problem.

As I said, about our resources—now, if our resources are limited, we cannot afford to see them applied to things which are not of the first importance. They may be applied, well, for something that is good, but something else may be more important or more desirable.



Now if our resources go into something that is otherwise good, but for the moment does not solve our problems, it takes away the resources from the actually important things. So that is a problem for a country with lack of resources. It is not a problem which arises in a country of big resources, because you can do everything at the same time. We have to choose what to do and channel our resources to the more basic things. That again requires this kind of economy, for the purpose of planning—if I may again use the word—so as to channel our resources in particular directions which we consider absolutely urgent, leaving the rest of the field, naturally, for free enterprise, etc.

Now, the field for private enterprise is very large and very considerable. From this point of view—all our land, of course, is privately owned and we will continue to do that. We do want to develop on our land as many cooperatives as possible, because there are too many small holdings, absurdly small. But if the small farmer comes together with a number of others, then they can have modern methods and profit by them.

A very big sector of our economy we are developing pertains to the small-scale cotton industry. We have been going into the cotton industry, chiefly, I may tell you, because of the employment problem; it may be that the cotton industry will not be profitable after some years. I don't know. But for the present, it becomes important, both to add to our production and to give employment to people. So that a small-scale cotton industry with higher techniques, insofar as we can introduce them—we don't want primitive techniques, but we do not want suddenly to throw out people from employment wherever they may be, unless we can absorb them some way, and if the process of absorbing goes, it's all right.

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But if we are to industrialize as we must, we must lay the base of that industrialization, the base for producing iron and steel, producing power, hydro-electric, etc. We are concentrating on that. Talking about agriculture, which is also of first importance for us, greater production, irrigation methods, better methods, not so much mechanizing agriculture—we dare not do that, because it is all very well for mechanization in a country with much land and few people. Whether it's the United States or the Soviet Union, there is much more land than human beings, relatively speaking. But in a country where human beings abound, we have to go cautiously in letting them work and not throwing them out by too much mechanization.



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So the land comes first. One of the biggest things we are doing now is this community development scheme in our rural economy, villages, with which is also attached the small industry. But for major industrialization, it becomes essential that we have a base for that, a base, as I said, of iron and steel plants and certain other basic industries—the machine-making industry—and all that.

That is what we are taking up, leaving the other fields—most of it—for private enterprise to carry out. The State can go directly or in conjunction with private enterprise or both. So that's the problem.

We realize, of course, that we have to, in a large measure necessarily shoulder the burden for this, both for practical reasons and for psychological reasons. By psychological, I mean, I want the people to bear the main burden—the mere fact of their shouldering the burden makes them develop, hardens them into doing a job. If somebody else does a job for them, well, they would not be capable of carrying it on afterwards.

But the fact remains that it is a terrific burden in many ways and some relatively—relative to the full effort—small help goes a long way, in easing, if I may say so, the labor pains of industrialization.

And so we very much welcome your cooperation and help. I cannot of course, discuss in detail; that is beyond me.

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## Generous Hospitality

### FAREWELL REMARKS OF PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

*Text of the farewell remarks of Prime Minister Nehru, December 21, 1956:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* I came to the United States of America six days ago and now I am on the point of leaving this great country and going to Canada. These six days have been very full and I carry definite impressions of the abounding and generous friendships and hospitality. I shall remember this for a long time. I am sure my visit here has, if I may say so, been good. Certainly for me, and I believe for the relations between the United States and India. I think it is important



that the relations of these two great countries should be friendly and cooperative. I hope that my visit will conduce to that end. I should like to express my grateful thanks to the people of America, to the President and to others who have been so kind and generous in their friendship and hospitality. To the people of India I should like to say that the friendship of America is a treasure which we value and I am sure that if these two countries cooperate it will add to the peace of the world and it will be to our mutual advantage. To all of you who may hear me later I wish a Happy New Year.

# Deep Gratitude

## FAREWELL AT THE AIRPORT

*Prime Minister Nehru's farewell remarks at the La Guardia Airport (New York) on December 21, 1956:*

*Prime Minister Nehru:* It has been a memorable experience for me to meet so many people and the President. Wherever I went I was met with kindness, hospitality and friendship; and my feeling is of deep gratitude to the people of the U.S.A. and the President.

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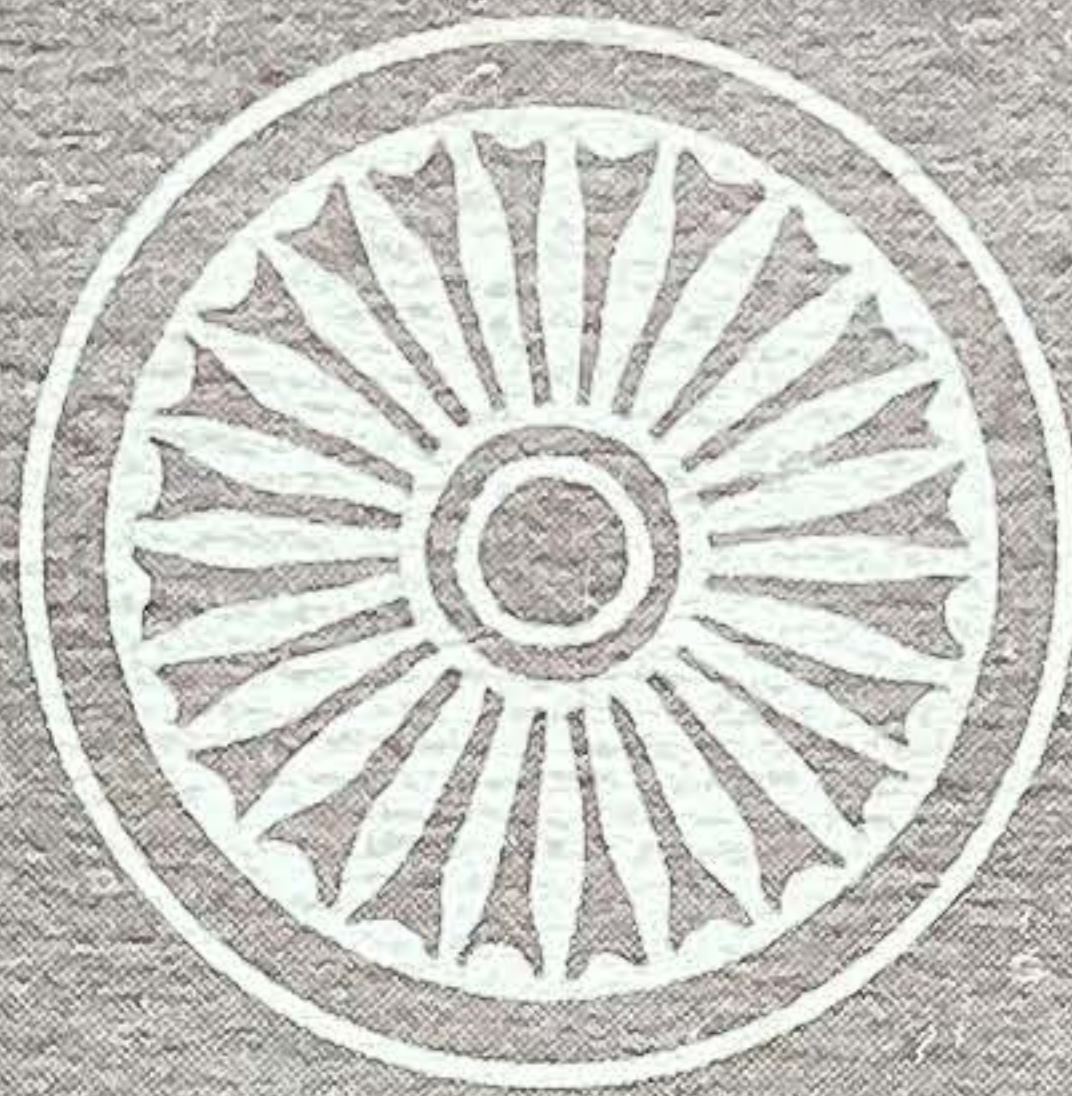
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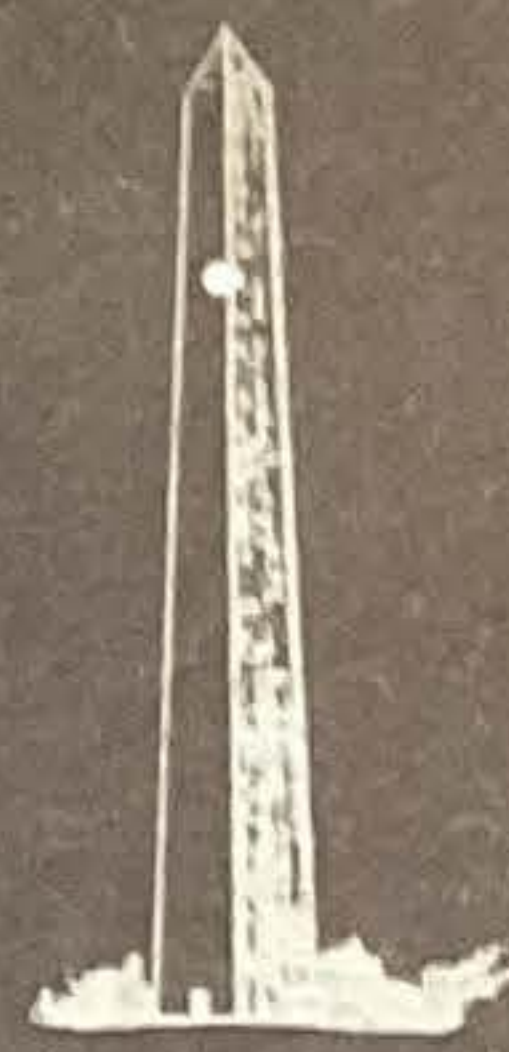








# NEHRU VISITS U.S.A.



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